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BANDITRY, CHIVALRY, AND TERROR IN GERMAN FICTION 1790-1830

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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By
AGNES GENEVIEVE MURPHY

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INTRODUCTION

German sub-literary fiction of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries existed in three outstanding types. the robber novel, the chivalric romance, and the tale of terror. A fourth type, the family novel in the style of Richardson and Fielding, was also current at the time, but it had reached its zenith earlier in the eighteenth century, and is not important for this study. The German family novel, of the type written by Hermes, was extravagantly sentimental. A reaction to this monotonously sweet class of fiction was inevitable. Novels featuring robbers, knights, and ghosts assumed the place of the sentimental tale in public favor. The three distinct genres, robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror, are the subject of this study. They had little in common, but literary historians have grouped them together because they were contemporary and a few authors wrote novels of all three types. No attempt has been made in this study to establish any further relationship, since their only unity consisted in the fact that they comprised the bulk of popular fiction during this period.

Koberstein's and Goedeke's histories of German literature alone contain detailed information concerning these types of narrative. The first individual study made of these three types of novels - Johann Appell, Die Ritter-, Räuber-, und Schauerromantik (1859) - contains little except brief synopses of the more famous novels of Cramer, Spiess, Vulpius, Zschokke, and biographies of these authors. The only other work on the subject is Carl Müller-Fraureuth's Die Ritter- und Räuberromane (1894). In a short preface, Müller-Fraureuth criticizes Appell's book as inadequate, but the same criticism can be justly made of his own work. Not only is Müller-Fraureuth's study inadequate; it is also unscholarly. He takes over bodily passages of several pages in length, without acknowledgement, from literary histories and even from Appell, and borrows synopses from reviews in the Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek.

¹C. Müller-Fraureuth, <u>Die Ritter- und Räuberromane</u> (Halle a. S.: M. Biemeyer, 1894), p. 78. Compare this discussion of <u>Rinaldo Rinaldini</u> with the material in Appell's <u>Die Ritter-</u>, <u>Räuber- und Schauerromantik</u> (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1859), pp. 43,

The present study was made possible by the acquisition of the Lincke Loan Library by the University of Chicago. This collection of approximately eighteen-thousand volumes contains subliterary fiction of the period from 1785 to 1840. A bibliography of the volumes in the collection pertinent to the subject of this dissertation is appended.

Robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror enjoyed a tremendous popularity in Germany during the period from 1790 to 1830. At the same time, the same types of novels were being written in England and France. Evidently, the authors of these three countries used the same sources or greatly influenced one another. It is the problem of the thesis to show the development of German robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror.

In German "Storm and Stress" lay the inspiration for the writing of novels with the heroic robber as hero. The young adherents of the storm and stress movement demanded freedom for the individual. The hero, Karl Moor, appealed to popular imagination. He was the noble youth who had become a robber because of the harsh treatment accorded him by his family. He exalted his profession by discriminating carefully between rich and poor. The rights of the individual were sacred to him. Schiller's contemporaries, particularly Zschokke and Vulpius, adopted this motif of the "noble bandit." Narratives with bandit-heroes originated in Germany and rapidly became popular in France and England, first through translations, and then through works of native authors.

Contemporary with the robber novels were the romances of chivalry. They should not be confused with the earlier romances associated with King Arthur or Amadis of Gaul. These chivalric romances were novels with medieval settings and had valiant knights as heroes. The awakening interest in the Middle Ages, accentuated by the historical writings of Justus Möser, the essays and folk-song collections of Herder, and chiefly Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen (1773), started the vogue of these chivalric romances. Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert were the outstanding writers of the historical romance of chivalry. There were several varieties of the chivalric romance: the historical narrative based on actual facts but with imaginary characters as heroes;

⁴⁶ f., 73; and J. Minor's Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890), I, 418.

See discussion of <u>Die Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier</u> in <u>Müller-Fraureuth</u>, p. 67. Cf., <u>Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek</u> (Kiel. 1793-1800; Berlin, 1800-1806), V. 592.

the narrative with real historical persons; and finally, the chivalric romance containing motifs borrowed from the tale of terror, in which passion, rather than chivalry, predominated. Romances of chivalry were practically non-existent in France and England. In those countries, the Gothic romance with its medieval background was the only type of narrative corresponding at all to the German chivalric romance.

The tale of terror began with Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764). Walpole's novel was a romance with its setting in the Middle Ages, and contained much of the supernatural and horrible. Twenty-five years later, Anne Radcliffe began writing novels of mystery and terror. They differed from the true Gothic romance, in that the settings were not always medieval, and supernatural occurrences were eventually explained in a rational fashion. In Germany, the novel of the horrific school had much the same development. First came the romances of chivalry as a result of interest in Gothic times. Secret societies, particularly the Freemasons and Rosicrucians, and conjurors, such as Cagliostro, exercised a remarkable influence upon the public mind. 2 Anything supernatural or mysterious aroused curiosity; cabbalism, or black magic, was often the object of investigation. From this chaos of superstitious emotion arose the tale of terror. Schiller's Der Geisterseher (1789) was the inspiration for many novels of the supernatural type. The French tale of terror combined German and English influences. We shall see that the genre was strikingly similar in Germany, England, and France. It lasted well into the nineteenth century, and the romanticists of all three countries show the influence of the wave of tales of terror.

The term "tale of terror" has been borrowed from Miss Edith Birkhead's work, The Tale of Terror (London, 1921).

²Ferd. Schneider, <u>Die Freimaurerei und ihr Einfluss auf</u> die geistige Kultur in <u>Deutschland am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts</u> (Prag: Taussig, 1909), p. 190.

CHAPTER I

THE ROBBER NOVEL

Eighteenth century storm and stress demanded justice for the oppressed, freedom from any established order of society, and the right of man to mold his own fate. The youthful Schiller fervently believed in these ideals, and the result of his enthusiasm was Die Rauber (1781). The hero of the drama is the robber Karl Moor. His treacherous brother, Franz, has succeeded in poisoning their father's mind, with the result that Karl has been disinherited without a chance to vindicate himself. He determines to take up arms against society and becomes chief of a band of robbers. Karl makes it his business to aid the poor and helpless. and to punish without mercy the rich and powerful. When the robbers storm the castle of Franz, where Amalie, Karl's fiancée, and the old father are prisoners, Franz strangles himself and the father dies when he hears that his son is a robber. Amalie begs Karl to kill her. He does this and then goes to surrender himself to justice.

It was not strange that Schiller made the hero of the drama a robber-chieftain. Outlaws had long been familiar in Europe, particularly after the Thirty Years War. In 1771, the famous robber Klostermayer, better known as the Bavarian Hiesel, was executed. Many of his deeds were idealized by the common folk, who claimed that he robbed monks in order to give to the poor, and killed the powerful in order to help the peasants. most faithful companion was Andreas Meyer, the model for Schiller's Schweizer in Die Räuber. Schiller was acquainted with the histories of the famous French robbers, Cartouche and Mandrin, and of the English Howard. He had also read about the compassionate robber, Roque Guinaut, in Don Quixote. This character speaks thus of his profession: "Injuries which I could not brook and thirst for revenge first led me into it contrary to my nature; for the savage asperity of my present behaviour is a disgrace to my heart, which is gentle and humane."1

¹Cervantes, Don Quixote de la Mancha, trans. R. Smith (3d ed.; New York, 1932), II, 509 f.

The enthusiasm with which <u>Die Räuber</u> was greeted was significant of the mood of the period. People were decidely in sympathy with the ideals expressed in the drama, and the revolutionary speeches ensured its popularity in France. Twelve years after the appearance of Schiller's drama, a flood of robber-novels appeared in the loan libraries. The heroes were all Karl Moors; that is, they were of noble birth, had been maltreated by society, and were fired with a desire for revenge. Mere wealth had no appeal for them. They were determined to fight for the good of humanity, and the only way they could do this, so they thought, was to destroy all persons possessing money and power.

The first robber novel to appear in Germany was Heinrich Zschokke's Aballino, der grosse Bandit (1793). It was so popular that its author decided to introduce it to the stage, where it also proved most successful. Instead of following Schiller's example of using local background, Zschokke chose the more colorful setting of Italy. This decision proved to be a precedent for many other authors; all of the robber novels written subsequent to Aballino have Mediterranean backgrounds. The opening scene of Aballino shows us a solitary stranger sitting on the border of the great canal in Venice. He seems to possess nothing but a sword, and is bemoaning his miserable existence. After saving a man from a bandit's dagger, he receives no thanks, but only hard words. This embitters him still more. Yet he says: "I will submit to my destiny! and go thru! every degree of human wretchedness; and whate'er may be my fate, I will still be myself. and whate er may be my fate, I will still act greatly!" He then requests a group of banditti to admit him to their fellowship. When they get a full view of his face, even they recoil with horror, for he has the countenance of a monster:

¹C. A. Seidel, Andreas Patasch, Zigeunerhauptmann (Cöthen: Aue, 1801), I. 274: "Ich bin Räuber! Ich habe aller politischen Verfassung abgeschworen! Ich habe ewigen Hass und Verfolgung allen geschworen, die es unterfangen die Menschheit zu unterdrücken! . . . ich dürste nach blutiger Rache!"

August Leibrock, <u>Marmorino der edle Bandit</u> (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827), II, 119: "Ich darf von mir sagen, dass nicht blosser Geldgewinn meine Handlungen leitete, auch habe ich wissentlich nie Boses angestiftet."

Ludwig Delarosa, Ferro Ferrini oder Der Brudermord (Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837), II, 186.

²Heinrich Zschokke, <u>The Bravo of Venice</u>, trans. K. G. Lewis (London: J. Hughes, 1805), p. 15.

"Black and shining, but long and straight, his hair flew wildly about his brown neck and yellow face. His mouth was so wide, that his gums and discolored teeth were visible and a kind of convulsive twist, which scarcely ever was at rest, had formed its expression into an eternal grin. His eye (for he had but one) was sunk deep in his head and little more than the white of it was visible. . . ."

The bandits with whom he has made friends are not robbers of small plunder, but are the highest-paid assassins in Venice. chief of the group declares that he and his men have as much right to lay down and alter the law of right and wrong as the Doge. The brave believes that honor consists in fulfilling any contract agreed to and in guiding a dagger to the heart of an enemy. Aballino privately determines to rid the Republic of these men. and declares that "only one bandit shall inhabit Venice and he shall watch over right and wrong, and according as he judges, shall reward and punish. "2 Matheo, the chief of the band, orders Aballino to kill the Doge's niece, Rosabella. He disguises himself as an old man, engages in conversation with the lovely maiden, but instead of killing her, plunges his dagger into Matheo's breast. Soon after this event, the Doge and Rosabella meet a young Florentine. Flodoardo, who possesses extraordinary beauty and intelligence. He offers to rid Venice of its banditti. and even succeeds in doing so. Some of the nobles have been depending upon the help of these assassins to rid themselves of the Doge and his friends so that they may usurp the power themselves. They are furious to see their plans thwarted, but determine to employ the dread Aballino to commit the intended murders. He does this in return for enormous sums of money. Abillino even dares to appear before the Doge and demand Rosabella as his bride. When the Doge refuses, the bandit makes threats which he carries out within twenty-four hours. The Doge tells Flodoardo to capture Aballino if he desires to win Rosabella. The appointed time arrives when Flodoardo is supposed to appear with Aballino as his prisoner - but Aballino appears alone! He accuses publicly the nobles who are in the plot to overthrow the Doge. Then he brings in the nobles whom he has supposedly murdered. They have merely been concealed by him until the time when he can disclose the plot against the state. He then removes his disguise and appears as Flodoardo. In reality, he is a noble of Naples, and has been banished on false charges. He is now fully vindicated and

¹ Ibid., p. 30 f.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 55.

Rosabella becomes his bride.

Aballino contains several motifs characteristic of the robber novel. The disguises employed by the bandit are numerous and effective. He seldom appears as der grosse Bandit, but is seen as an old man, a gondolier, a woman, or a monk. Zschokke also popularizes the motif of double identy. The motif also occurs in Bornschein's Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung, Buchholz' Guido Mazarini oder Irlando der Verkappte, Grillparzer's Die Ahnfrau, and E. T. A. Hoffmann's Elixiere des Teufels. Aballino differs from most robber novels in that the hero, who ultimately discloses himself as a man of noble birth, is a pseudo-bandit working for the good of the state. The heroes of other stories remain bandits until the end, yet even they perform only "noble" deeds and punish any member of the group who earns money by committing base crimes. As in Aballino, the banditti are hired to assassinate the enemies of nobles of good reputation. The bandit accepts such commissions only if he is convinced that the person whom he is hired to kill deserves death. A robber is often generous enough to rescue the wife or daughter of a poor man from a dissolute noble, even though he realizes that he will gain no material reward. He usually arrives just in the nick of time. 1 Such scenes are most dramatic. The robber stalks into the room brandishing pistols and a sword. He kills the noble, writes a note declaring himself the murderer, sweeps the fainting woman into his arms, and departs as noiselessly as he came. If a scheming woman is to be the robber's victim, the author of the novel sometimes includes a tender love scene in which the bandit is disguised as an unknown admirer. The fair lady little suspects that she is entertaining her murderer. Scenes of the above type added glamour and color to the novels. They were not necessary to the plot, but an author of a robber novel used every device to make his hero seem brave, daring, and romantic. The more melodramatic or lurid the situation, the better it pleased the reader of this trashy fiction.

Although many imitations of <u>Abällino</u> appeared, such as <u>Die Heldin der Vendée</u>, <u>Ein weiblicher Abällino</u> (1801) by H. F. Schmieder, the novel was better liked in England than in Germany. Its popularity was entirely eclipsed in 1797 by the publication of <u>Rinaldo Rinaldini</u>, <u>der Räuberhauptmann</u>. The author of this most beloved of all robber novels was Christian Vulpius, the brother-in-law of Goethe. He found an Italian manuscript

¹A. Leibrock, I, 124.

L. Delarosa, I, 172 f.; II, 150 f.

containing information about an Italian robber, Rinaldini, and also other references in the Journal de l'Europe. Equipped with these few facts and a vivid imagination, he managed to write a most exciting novel. A critic of the Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek praised it highly. He declared that Vulpius "versteht die Kunst. Charakter zu zeichnen und zu halten, und Begebenheiten zu ordnen"; that his "Sprache ist rein, edel, reich und biegsam, sein Dialog gedrängt, eingreifend und sehr oft apophthegmatisch." We can not rely, however, upon such statements, for the same critic declares that Johann G. Miller's characterizations are comparable to those of Lessing! A rapid perusal of some of Müller's tales of terror, such as Markoff, der Seelenfänger, will prove the ridiculous exaggeration of such a comment. Nevertheless, the critic did voice the almost unanimous public opinion of Rinaldo Rinaldini. In Germany, there were five editions of the novel; it was also well known in France and England. Vulpius certainly was influenced by Schiller's Rauber. Both Rinaldo and Karl Moor are of noble birth. Rinaldo believes himself to be merely a peasant's son, for he remembers tending sheep as a boy. Both robbers deal out justice as they see it. Rinaldo differs from Karl Moor in that he has one love affair after another. Evidently, he is a very charming person, for even ladies of society are susceptible.

Rinaldini's fame apread as far as America. In 1810, a drama entitled Rinaldo Rinaldini, or The Great Banditti by William Dunlap appeared. The author did not give any indication that he borrowed his material from German sources, but when one reads the play this fact is obvious. Several scenes compare almost word for word with some in the German Rinaldo, as for instance, when one of the bandits reproaches his chief for desiring to renounce the profession: "What would you have been, had you still continued at Ostella tending your father's goats?"2 The hermit in Rinaldo is a characteristic feature of the robber novel. We find an exact replica of Vulpius' hermit in the anonymous novel Carlo Cellini oder die Männer der Nacht (1821). He is a kindly figure, always ready to aid anyone who comes his way and who has become a recluse because of bitter misfortune. Tt is strange that we never meet a hermit who has adopted this mode of living because of religious zeal. Devout, pious characters simply do not occur in the robber novel.

leve Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, L, 35 f.

2William Dunlap, <u>Rinaldo Rinaldini</u> (New York, 1810), p.10.

3Anon., <u>Carlo Cellini</u> (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821), p. 21,

After the appearance of Rinaldo Rinaldini, it became the style to give robber-chieftains similar names, as for instance, Orlando Orlandini, Carlo Cellini, and Quorato Orsini. The locale of the novels was always Italy, Spain, or Sicily. Sometimes the robber would stray as far as Tunis or Algiers as a result of storm or capture by pirates. The author of the robber novel sought to arouse sympathy for his hero by descriptions of the cruel treatment meted out by Algierian pirates. Vivid pictures of slave marts in Tunis and Algiers occur frequently. If the hero is purchased by some wicked old tyrant, a beautiful lady of the harem is sure to rescue him. Luckily, our bandit heroes are endowed with so much personal beauty and charm that women of any class fall madly in love with them. If the bandit does not become enamoured in turn, he at least makes good use of the lady's help before deserting her. The authors seldom allow us to see their bandits in such an unfavorable light, however, and contrive, therefore, to have the lady die or be imprisoned, so that she no longer stands in the way of the hero's freedom.

When the robber reaches his native haunts again after the unpleasant experience of being a slave, he gathers about him the remnants of his followers and they seek new hiding places secure from attack. Headquarters are usually in an old castle which people believe to be haunted. The Gothic architecture gives the ruins a sinister appearance and many a poor traveller meets with an unhappy fate for daring to take refuge in the eastle during a storm. The castles are equipped with secret passages, hidden doors, and old tapestries and pictures. Doors are concealed in the paneling or behind knights in armor. Trapdoors suddenly give way and the explorer finds himself in a dank dungeon. hidden rooms, some of which contain skeletons and rusty instruments of torture. If no castles are available, the robbers tunnel caves in the sides of cliffs or deep in the forests. The caves are luxuriously furnished and brilliantly illuminated. 2 Our novelists delight in depicting the exciting battles that ensue whenever one of these robber-strongholds is discovered.

lanon., Josephine die Banditenbraut (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1804), p. 17; T. E. Bornschein, Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung (3d ed.; Erfurt: Müller, 1816), I, 162; Sebastien Aniello, Carlo Endimiro oder die furchtbaren Seerduber auf dem mittelländischen Meere (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827), I, 12; L. Delarosa, II, 40.

Pund (Meissen: Goedsche, 1829), I, 15 ff.

bandits are so courageous that the soldiers seldom are successful in their attacks. After the battle, the forest is strewn with the bleeding corpses of soldiers, but the reader is supposed to waste no sympathy on these assailants of the heroic robbers.

A minor type of robber novel which contained most of the above motifs, dealt with pirates rather than land-robbers. These novels were not prevalent until after the second decade of the century. The pirates do not attack the ships of Christian nations and are given financial aid by the King of Spain and the Doge of Venice. Their leader has the rank of Admiral and usually attains this honor from deeds of valor alone, for no one suspects his noble birth. Past misfortunes drive a distinguished youth to adopt the profession of piracy. We recognize this motif as borrowed from the earlier robber novels. In Carlo Endimiro (1827), for instance, the hero has been robbed of his inheritance by his brother, driven into exile, and later informed of his father's murder at the hands of his faithless brother. Another man becomes a pirate because he has rashly killed his wife's brother. The lives of the pirates are very exciting. Most of the time is spent chasing down the ships of Algerians and Tunisians, or waging war against the Turks. In order to have an impregnable stronghold, the pirates seek out a lonely island on which to build fortresses and storehouses. A lover of this type of fiction can not but shiver with horror when he reads of the snakes and other vermin that infest the islands where the pirates wish to establish themselves. There are lengthy descriptions of how the pirates finally drive away the serpents by burning brush.1

Much less interesting than the regular robber novels, these sea novels were entirely lacking in plot and consisted largely of descriptions of sea-battles. The characters were so standardized that the reader has difficulty in distinguishing one sea-captain from another. Possibly the novels were attempts to offer the public something new in the way of startling, terrifying episodes, but this type of story never attained the popularity of novels in the style of Abällino and Rinaldo Rinaldini.

The robber novel exerted a particular appeal in France, where the revolutionary and individualistic theories of the bandits were in full accord with public opinion. Schiller's Räuber was

¹G. Bertrant, <u>Der Admiral Don Velasco da Gaston oder kühne</u>

<u>Thaten eines Seeräubers des Mittelmeeres</u> (2d ed.; Helmstädt;

Fleckeisen, 1819), I, 132; S. Aniello, I, 103 ff.

as well-known and as greatly admired in France as in Germany.
After the introduction of the German drama to the stage, Karl Moor became "le type favori de la littérature européene" and the leaders of the Revolution addressed a letter of congratulation to Schiller.

Two of the best-known figures of French fiction were the famous robbers, Cartouche and Mandrin. Destruction of castles, murder of nobles and prelates, abduction of maidens were a few of the practices of these blood-and-thunder heroes. Incidents from their lives occurred frequently in robber novels. Mandrin (1714-1755), whose father was killed by soldiers because of counterfeiting activities, deserted the army, became a counterfeiter, and finally a bandit. When twenty years of age, he fell in love with a girl of noble birth, convinced her that he was a rich baron and persuaded her to marry him. When he was finally captured, his wife entered a convent. German authors used this event so often that it became a conventional motif. Usually, however, the bandit's wife would choose to flee with him rather than become a nun.²

As in Germany, Zschokke's Aballino had a definite effect upon literary fashion in France. It inspired the writing of robber novels and dramas with scenes laid in Moorish Spain and Renaissance Italy. One of the most famous French robber novels was Charles Nodier's Jean Sbogar (1818), which was an imitation of Aballino. Both novels have their settings in Venice, each bandit has a double identity and the same type of heroic character. The band of robbers of which Sbogar is chief "proclamait la liberté et le bonheur, mais elle marchait accompagnée de l'incendie, du pillage, et de l'assassinat."

French robber novels were also subject to English influences; Mme. de Nardouet openly admitted her admiration of English fiction and the influence it had had upon her Barberinski ou les brigands du chateau de Wissegrade. The fact, too, that Matthew Lewis, whose works were immensely popular in France, had translated Aballino, indirectly helped to further the mode. François Ducray-Duminil shows traces of both German and English influence. His Victor ou l'enfant de la forêt (1796) is, however, definitely an imitation of the German robber novel. Ducray-Duminil's works

lv. Rossel, <u>Histoire des relations littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne</u> (Paris, 1897), p. 131.

^{27.} Bornschein, II, 312; A. Leibrock, Quorato Orsini, der grosse Räuberhauptmann (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826), I, 237.

³Jean Sbogar et autres nouvelles, ed. Faguet (Paris, n. d.), p. 40.

were translated into German almost immediately after their publication and were greatly admired in Germany. Victor shows the author's acquaintance with the history of Mandrin, as in the bandit's account of his counterfeiting activities and his subsequent capture by the police. The motif of counterfeiting occurs also in German novels, particularly in Rimaldo Rimaldini and Carlo von Ortobello. Victor is different from the standard robber novel, is that the hero of the story is not a robber but the lost son of a bandit chieftain. The bandit, Robert, expresses the same ideas as a Karl Moor or a Rimaldo, although he calls himself "der Rächer, der Vertheidiger der Menschheit," he is much more ruthless and has very selfish aims. 1

Although we find heroes in English fiction similar to Karl Moor, the robber novel was not recognized as a definite genre in England until after 1800. Schiller's Räuber, Vulpius' Rinaldo, and Zschokke's Abāllino were all well-known, but they called forth comparatively few imitations. Scarcely any of the English novels of this type were known in Germany, whereas the French ones were to be found in German loan-libraries. The extraordinary success of the robber novel in Germany and France reflected the universal appeal of the bandit heroes, and gave expression to the ideals of freedom and individualism current during this period.

¹F. Ducray-Duminil, <u>Victor oder der Sohn des Waldes</u>, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1798), II, 33.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIVALRIC ROMANCE

Mopstock, Herder, Möser, and other writers of the eighteenth century revived popular interest in the Middle Ages. Goethe also turned to the Middle Ages for inspiration, and wrote Götz von Berlichingen (1773). While studying medieval law at Strassburg, he received the idea for his drama. At the same time he read the chronicle concerning Göts, which had appeared in 1731.1 Goethe saw in Götz the last noble respresentative of the age of chivalry, and idealized the knight rather than the medieval period in his drama. The external background was vivid enough to arouse the imaginations of other authors and to inspire them to follow Goethe's lead. A period of nearly twelve years elapsed, however, after the appearance of Götz before novels and dramas of the same type were published with any frequency. During this interim, H. A. Reichard, a teacher in Gotha, began to publish his Bibliothek der Romane (1778-1794), which he claimed was modeled on the French Bibliothèque universelle des romans. Most literary historians consider Reichard's Bibliothek an important factor in the development of the chivalric romance of the late eighteenth century. Probably they assume this because Reichard classified the novel-synopses in the Bibliothek under the rubrics "Ritter-, Volks-, Deutsche-, Ausländische- und Religions-Romane." The term "Ritterromane" is misleading, for the type of novel thus designated by Reichard was a romance of chivalry comparable to the kind written concerning King Arthur, Lancelot, Wigalois, and Roland. The chivalric romance, which was popular during the latter part of the eighteenth century, was decidedly an imitation of Götz. It always had a historical German background, and a staunch German knight as hero.

Götz was based on a study of sources. The first writers of the chivalric romance also attempted to make authentic use of history. The popular scholarly interest in the Middle Ages

Lebensbeschreibung Herrn Gözens von Berlichingen, zugenannt mit der eisernen Hand, Eines zu Zeiten Kaysers Maximiliani I. und Caroli V. kühnen und tapfern Reichs-Cavaliers (Mürnberg, 1731).

demanded this, as certain articles in the <u>Deutscher Merkur</u> indicate. Authors imitated the medieval language of <u>Götz</u>. We find such obsolete words for everyday things as <u>Humpen</u> (steins), <u>Schragen</u> (beds), <u>Gelaggaden</u> (banquet hall); dogs were called <u>Rüden</u>, castles, <u>Vesten</u>, bold knights, <u>Waglinge</u>, and authors even made up pseudo-medieval expressions, such as <u>der Knöchler</u> (death). The words <u>bass</u> (very) and <u>traun</u> (indeed) appeared frequently. Some authors did not believe, however, that such words lent enough color or medieval atmosphere, and accordingly embellished the speeches of their knights with rough, coarse expressions. Carl Cramer particularly did this, and carried it to the extreme in Hasper a Spada.

Customs characteristic of the Middle Ages, such as jousts, tournaments, knightly warfare, and court ceremonies had an important place in the chivalric romance. Some of the descriptions of the ordeals and trial by combat provided the reader of this type of narrative with the excitement and suspense he demanded.

The ordeal by fire was a method employed to extract a confession from a person accused of a crime. Evidently authors were afraid that they might be accused of not being realistic enough, for they included all the gory details connected with such a performance. According to this test, an individual was innocent if he could walk unharmed over white-hot plates of iron or if he could carry a piece of glowing metal without burning himself. Scenes in which instruments of torture were used were as hair-raising as anyone could desire. The rack, thumbscrews, and branding irons were a few of the favorite methods of torture described by our novelists. Another means of determining a person's innocence or guilt was trial by combat. If a knight accused of a

l"Einige Nachrichten von dem Ritterwesen der mittleren Zeiten," <u>Der deutsche Merkur</u>, 1777, part 2, p. 29; "Ueber den Wert und Nutzen der Geschichte des Mittelalters," <u>ibid.</u>, 1788, part 4, pp. 8-32; "Gesichtspunkte für die Schriftsteller unseres Zeitalters," <u>ibid.</u>, 1796, part 1, pp. 34-74.

²Carl Cramer, <u>Hasper a Spada</u> (3d ed.; Leipzig: Fleischer, 1794), I, 288: "Oder mästest du dich nicht etwan von den fetten Ochsen deiner Brüder, die wir zur Burg treiben, weil sie die feisten Bet-Hengste zu wollüstig machen möchten, wie ein Ried-Sau?... Willst du Wasser saufen lernen, und Rüdensupp fressen?"

Benedicte Naubert, <u>Walter von Montbarry</u> (Leipzig: Weygand, 1786), I, 496 f.; W. A. Lindau, <u>Die weisse Frau</u> (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1811), III, 146 f.; J. van der Hall, <u>Ritter Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze</u> (Meissen: Goedsche, 1827), I, 138; Sebastian Aniello,

crime wanted to vindicate himself, he could demand such a trial. In the event that another knight would offer to fight against him, the battle took place before the king, or chief judge, and the court. If the defendant was victorious, his innocence was no longer questioned, for God had acted as judge. Sometimes the accused was a woman; she too could demand a decision by combat. Such combats were always very solemn affairs and the novelist liked to dwell at length on descriptions of the court, the lists, the combatants, and finally the combat. The throne of the judge and the seats of the spectators were draped in black. After the combatants entered the lists, a coffin was carried onto the field. A priest then made the knights swear that they carried no magic talismans and described what would happen to the one who would be defeated. Not only the knight but his whole family would be disgraced forever. His knightly weapons and coat of arms would be destroyed, his body burned, and the ashes scattered across the countryside. After this rather tedious introduction, the writer regales us with his knowledge of medieval warfare. One feels no regret at all when one of the knights is finally killed.

The trials by combat do not offer as much opportunity for authors to paint the pomp and splendour of medieval times as do the tournaments. No writer of chivalric romances can refrain from including at least one such festival in his novel. Tournaments are held whenever there is any cause for celebration-at weddings, birthday feasts, and coronations. They are open to all honorable knights and are proclaimed far in advance. The knight presents a splendid figure as he rides into the lists, for he has on his best suit of armor, richly plated in either gold or silver. The trappings of his horse are magnificent and very colorful. ladies attending the tournament warrant as much attention as the knights. Needless to say, they are all uniformly beautiful and all eager for the hero to win. After the tournament the feasting and dancing begin. If there is any romance in the story, this is where it becomes evident, for the heroine is certain to stroll in the gardens after the dance and meet the hero of the day. Solemn vows of fidelity and undying love are exchanged, and the knight rides away, ready to conquer the world for his lady.

Burg Löwenstein oder der Sturz der Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828), II, 147 f.

¹W. Lindau, II, 48; S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828), I, 30 f.; S. Aniello, Burg Löwenstein, I, 124 ff.

Two other motifs should be cited in this general discussion of the chivalric romance. The motifs mentioned thus far have been characteristic of this type of narrative, and many of them were inspired by Götz. The scheming monk and the secret tribunal were the most important features of the novel of knighthood. bishop in Götz was not as wicked as the ones appearing in later productions, but the current movement of anti-Catholicism gave authors all the incentive they needed to portray monks of the most evil sort. For these characters, no crime was too horrible if they thereby accomplished their ends. In Veit Weber's Männerschwur und Weibertreue (1785) the monk Bartolomdus tells of the evil perpetrated in monasteries. Pater Gregor in Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht (1791) has an insatiable ambition. As the master of the Holy Tribunal he can rid himself of anyone hostile to his purposes. Carl Cramer introduces us to an abbot who carries off the wife of a noble knight. He imprisons her in his monastery, seduces her, and then leaves her to waste away in the horrible vaults of the old building. 2 Some church officials are merely greedy and desire to acquire large grants of lands for their monasteries. In order to do this, they persuade parents to promise their children to the Church, or they prevent the marriage of heirs, so that whole estates will be willed to the monastery. Lindau's Die weisse Frau is based upon this motif. The abbot Bercald puts every obstacle in the way of Count Adolf's marriage to the heroine. Thekla. The Count has signed an agreement that in the event that he dies childless, the monastery shall receive his entire property. Accordingly, Beroald causes the abduction of Thekla and instigates an attack upon Adolf's life. Abbot Gottschalk of Burg Löwenstein is another Beroald. He imprisons heirs of estates and forces them to deed their properties to him in return for their liberty. The only other alternative is death. Some monks are characterized by lust for power, women, and land. They murder the owner of a castle, dishonor his wife and daughter

Vorzeit Weber, "Männerschwur und Weibertreue," Sagen der Vorzeit (Berlin: Maurer, 1787), I, 59: "Der roheste, wildeste Ritter würde erbeben, wenn er nur die Hälfte der Schandthaten sähe, die in den Klöstern vorgehen. Ich ward nach und nach unter diesen vermummten, von Layen heilig gepriesenen Teufeln, der grösste so eine ausgesuchte Gesellschaft von Bösewichtern, wie in unserm Kloster, bringt das Schicksal so bald nicht wiederzusammen."

²C. Cramer, I. 298.

³S. Aniello, <u>Burg Löwenstein</u>, I, 109.

and take over the property. Abbots employ monks of their monasteries as their henchmen. It is a simple matter to arrange to have a certain monk appointed house-priest in some particular eastle. Many of these priests are not averse to picking up a bit of extra money by aiding nefarious knights in attacks upon women. There was no opportunity to get revenge on these seemingly pious figures, who practiced all sorts of evil under the cloak of religion, for they were protected by the Holy Tribunal. Monks could be judged only by their ecclesiastical superiors, and if a knight dared to lift a hand against them, he was subject to excommunication and banishment, or even worse.

The meeting place of the Tribunal was usually terrible enough to match the villainy of its members. It was a subterranean hall, dimly illuminated by candles. The throne of the master was draped in black and the monks were robed in white cloaks and masks. Skulls, instruments of torture, and an executioner's block were in plain sight and were calculated to weaken the prisoner's resistance. The trials were a farce, because no one ever was adjudged innocent. The victims of the Tribunal were transported to a nearby cave and propped up against the walls. No attempt was made to give them decent burial. One of our heroes found the corpse of a knight doomed by the Tribunal. He was so horrified at the discovery that he took the severed head, showed it to his comrades, and fired them with a desire for revenge. The reader

¹Christian Spiess, <u>Die Löwenritter</u> (Leipzig: Leo, 1794), I. 200 ff.

²S. Aniello, <u>Die Bundesritter</u>, I, 23.

³S. Aniello, <u>Burg Löwenstein</u>, II, 22; S. Aniello, <u>Die Bundesritter</u>, I, 175; C. Ahlefeld, <u>Die Sicilianerin</u> (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825), p. 172.

⁴v. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 441: "Ein stinkender Dunst dampfte aus dem Boden, dem Leichenacker der ermordeten Unschuldigen. An den Mauern schwebte, faltig, ein grauer Koderschleier... Nahe der Thür erhob sich ein ehernes Gehäge....ihm zur Linken öffnete sich ein Gang, der zur Marterkammer führte."

B. Naubert, Hermann of Unna, A Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century, trans. from the German (London: Robinson, 1794), I, 252; V. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, VI; H. Müller, Udo von Horstenburg oder Vatermord und Rache (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821), I, 205; H. Müller, Graf Albert von Reinstein oder das heimliche Gericht des Teufelsmauer (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819), I, 159.

should naturally experience a feeling of revulsion when confronted with these horribly realistic scenes, but the popularity of the type of novel containing such gory pictures disproves this assumption. Sometimes authors were content merely to build up suspense by first describing a dark, stormy night, then the posting of the summons to appear before the Tribunal. The summons always came at midnight and was announced by three hammer-blows on the portal of the castle. If a knight chose to disregard the command of the Tribunal, he could expect no mercy. Members of the Tribunal would find him eventually, no matter where he went. As soon as he was discovered, he was subject to an immediate death of the worst sort.

The motifs of the valiant knight, nefarious monks, medieval language and customs, and the secret tribunal all occurred in the novels of Veit Weber, who directly imitated Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen. After his use of these motifs, they became almost traditional in the chivalric romance and we shall encounter them repeatedly. Weber emulated Goethe by also using an authentic historical background. Veit Weber (Leonhard Wächter) was the father of the chivalric romance, for the novel with a medieval setting did not gain recognition as a definite literary genre until the appearance of Weber's Sagen der Vorzeit (1787-1798). The first novel of this series was Männerschwur und Weibertreue, which had appeared earlier in Ephemeriden der Literatur (1785). It was Weber's best known novel, and contained the conventional motifs and typical characters of a German medieval romance. structure of the novel was complicated, for Weber introduced several sub-plots. The characters were so well defined, however, that it is not difficult to keep their activities distinct. Such clarity was unusual, for most of Weber's contemporaries introduced so many indistinguishable characters that the thread of the story is lost long before the end is in sight. Long as Mannerschwur und Weibertreue is, the exciting events narrated hold the reader's interest.

Conrad von Wolffsstein, a dishonorable knight and Abbot Gottschalk kidnap Helene von Mayenthal. Wildungen, who is engaged to Helene's best friend, Agnes von Wertheim, rescues Helene. Before he leaves Wolffsstein's castle, he assembles the vassals and publicly declares Wolffsstein no longer a knight. This does not prevent Wolffsstein from undertaking other villainous deeds. He agrees to help Dorneck, the brother of his mistress Uda, to win the hand of Agnes. In order to succeed, they must get rid of

lv. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 238.

Wildungen. They convince Agnes! father that Wildungen is treacherous, and as a result bring about her marriage to Dorneck. At the wedding feast Wildungen appears, forces Dorneck to confess the plot, and kills him. Wolffsstein is summoned to appear before the Holy Tribunal, but he disregards the command. Wolffsstein tries to escape, but the Tribunal has declared him an outlaw and he can find no shelter. While resting in the forest, he meets a hermit, who discloses himself as his father, the monk Bartolomdus. Wolffsstein has an intense hatred of the monk and murders him. Soon after this members of the Tribunal capture and kill him. While Wolffsstein is paying bitterly for his crimes, the Abbot is also being hounded by justice. He has held captive a noble maiden, dishonoured her, and then abandoned her. His mistress, Cacilie. prevents Kleeborn, Helene's fiancé, from murdering the Abbot. When Wildungen storms the castle, Kleeborn is killed by his friend's hand, for he does not disclose his identity before the duel begins.

Wildungen is the typical knight, ever ready to defend the rights and property of other persons as well as his own. He delights in tournaments and knightly achievements. His courage is so remarkable that he is always surrounded by devoted followers. In battle, he is brutally fierce but when he returns home, no trace of this is apparent. There he is a loving husband, who sits in the great hall of his castle with his wife at his side and his friends about him. The knights empty the Humpen and listen to the songs of the minstrels. Such scenes remind us of Götz. Kleeborn is another Weislingen. He is susceptible to beautiful women and forgets Helene when he is in the presence of Cacilie. Cacilie has a character as diabolical as that of Adelheid von Walldorf. Both women desire power and sacrifice everything to gain it. Although the Bishop of Bamberg in Götz can not begin to compare with the wicked Abbot Gottschalk, he is a character inimical to the hero and the best welfare of the state.

Weber's novels differed from those of many of his contempories in their historical accuracy. He used prolific footnotes to explain archaic words or to define a word if its meaning had changed during the course of time. He distinguished between a

lSometimes these footnotes were so long that they covered several pages. V. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 67; IV, 42; VI, 5, 382. Ibid., I, 317: "Kneuffen (Knöpfen), gerunzert (in Falten gelegt), gefrenzert (mit Franzen besetzt)." Ibid., VI, 116: "Zuchtmeister: Dieses Wort bezeichnete im Mittelalter einen Lehrer und Erzieher: nicht aber, wie jetzt, einen Mann, der körperliche Züchtigungen an Missthätern vollzieht."

novel founded on traditional history and one based on facts, and always quoted authoritative sources. 2

Benedicte Naubert, daughter of a Leipzig professor and sometimes characterized as the German Walter Scott, used actual facts as background for her novels and helped popularize the Middle Ages. She was one of the most prolific writers of the time, for between 1787 and 1790 she composed thirteen historical novels. She enjoyed describing old-time festivals such as Christmas or a minstrel's initiation ceremonies. Rarely did she yield to popular taste for the mysterious, unless perhaps in the description of some old building of Gothic exterior. The mere mention of anything Gothic was enough to prepare the reader for thrills and surprises. The characters of her novels were seldom as interesting as those which Weber portrayed, because any description of personal emotions or conflict was lacking.

Hermann von Unna is one of the most interesting of her romances of chivalry, and closely resembles the novels of Veit Weber as to motifs and setting. There are terrifying pictures of the proceedings of the Secret Tribunal during the time of Emperors Winceslaus and Sigismond. The heroine, Ida Munster, has been accused of sorcery and it seems almost impossible that she will be declared innocent. This formidable society is responsible for most of Hermann's misfortunes also. He describes it to Ida in

libid., IV, 141: "Die Geschichte hat von dieser Genossenschaft (Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht) nichts zur Kunde der Nachwelt gebracht; allein die Sage. Jene nimmt ihre Nachrichten nur von öffentlichen Denkmälern: diese behält was, und wo sie's auch findet."

ZHis two most important sources were: J. B. de la Curne de Ste.- Palaye, Memoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie (Paris, 1759-1781) and Jean B. du Mailly, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, trans. from the French (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1782). Other sources were J. Möser, Osnabrückische Geschichte; N. Kindlinger, Münsterische Beyträge zur Geschichte Deutschlands, hauptsächlich Westphalen; Paul v. Stetten, des Jüngern, Kunst-, Gewerk-, und Handwerk-geschichte von Augsburg.

³B. Naubert, Walter von Montbarry, I, 29, 136.

⁴<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 183: "... das Kloster ... ein ungeheurer unförmlicher Steinhaufen, der durch manche seiner überhangenden, den Einsturz drohenden Gewölben von seinem Alterthum zeugte ... ihr würdet staunen über die gothische ungeformte Beuart desselben."

the following terms:

"The members of which, spread all over the earth, are informed, almost in the twinkling of an eye, of what passes in the most distant parts of their invisible empire, as if they were connected by some magic chain. You have seen how numerous are the judges and associates of this tribunal."

The plots of Benedicte Naubert's novels are based on farreaching intrigues. In Hermann von Unna, the machinations of the Secret Tribunal and the efforts of Ida's father constantly thwart Hermann's attempts to marry Ida or even to see her. She is to be the means of forming an alliance with a powerful duke, who is willing to help her father seize the throne if Ida is given to him. In Walter von Montbarry, the hero is buffeted about from earliest youth. He does not know the identity of his parents, but the secret of his birth is no mystery to the most powerful members of society, including the Queen of England. The motif of mysterious birth frequently occurs in the chivalric romance, as well as in the contemporary robber novel and the tale of terror.

Although many authors sought to emulate the novels of Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert, few of them could write narratives replete with exciting events and suspense, based on actual facts. Accordingly, these lesser writers dealt with either one or the other aspect. This was the degeneration of the chivalric romance into the purely historical novel, on the one hand, and the novel of passion, on the other.

Professor Friedrich Schlenkert wrote novels of the historical type. His heroes were historical figures, such as Kaiser Henrich IV, Moritz of Saxony, Rudolf of Habsburg and Bernhard, Duke of Sachsen-Weimar. None of the narratives were particularly interesting; they were laboured attempts to present history accurately in story form. The didactic elements were too marked.

Bernhard, Herzog zu Sachsen-Weimar (1818) consists of tedious dialogues about the state of political affairs in Germany during the year 1631. Except for some battles and the persecution of the Protestants, it is entirely lacking in action. Nothing occurs to relieve the monotony of the frequent religious arguments. Schlenkert's most famous novel, Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange

¹The quotation is in English as a German copy of <u>Hermann</u> was not available. B. Naubert, <u>Hermann of Unna</u>, II, 34.

²w. A. Lindau, <u>Die weisse Frau</u> (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1811), III, 93 f.; G. Jördens, <u>Lanzelot vom See</u> (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1822), p. 155; J. v. d. Hall, <u>Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze</u> (Meissen: Goedsche, 1827), II, 223.

(1785), is as dreary as the others.

Gottlob Heinse, a bookseller, was a very prolific writer of novels written in imitation of Naubert's. In a period of seven years, he produced twenty-three historical novels. Although he claimed to adhere closely to actual events, the novels themselves disprove the statement. Among his heroes are Heinrich von Plauen, Ludwig der Springer, and Ludwig der Eiserne. Other authors of this type of narrative were Ludwig von Baczko, a professor at Königsberg, and Johann Georg Schilling, whose most famous work was Berthold von Urach (1787-1789). Although all of these authors were influenced noticeably by Veit Weber, none of them attained to his level. Either they were too didactic or too ignorant of historical facts. They could not happily combine real history and narrative interest. The only thing they employed successfully in imitation of his novels was the dialogue style.

Carl Gottlob Cramer, the most popular author of chivalric romances, studied theology at Leipzig, was a tutor in Weissenfels and Naumburg, and was appointed a teacher at the Forstakademie in Dreissigacker near Meiningen. In the preface to the second edition of Hasper a Spada, Cramer wrote: "Ich habe ja meine Schriften in den Händen eines Fürsten gefunden, für dessen Geist und Herzen Deutschland Ehrfurcht haben muss." Cramer had not yet received his teaching appointment at Meiningen when he said this, so it is not proven whether the prince to whom he referred, was the Duke of Meiningen. In any event, such a statement was not idle boasting, for Cramer did enjoy an unheard of popularity even among the better classes of society. He made no attempt to cater to critics, but rather delighted in flaunting his success in their faces. In speaking of himself and his colleagues, he said:

"Uns ist daran gelegen, dass die Welt uns lese und gern lese; darum kummern wir uns auch nicht, es ist uns einerley, was ihr von uns schmiert, wenn wir nur den Ton treffen, in welchem Herzen und Sinne unsers Zeitalters gestimmt sind."

lcarl Cramer, p. viii.

³A. Koberstein, <u>Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen</u>. Nationalliteratur (Leipzig, 1827), IV. 234.

He prided himself that he enjoyed the public's favor to such an extent that his books were read and even re-edited long before reviews appeared.1

Hasper a Spada (1792) was Cramer's most successful novel. Much of it was modelled on Götz von Berlichingen and Weber's Minnerschwur und Weibertreue. Cramer used the dialogue and characteristic medieval vocabulary of Weber, described tournaments and feudal wars in his master's fashion, and created much atmosphere with the minstrel, Klingsohr, who sang of things most loved by the knights—wine, women, and war. In order to appear accurate, Cramer prefixed a short historical resume. He pointed out the tyranny exercised by the priests of the Church, and narrated the civil wars carried on among the princes of Germany. The hero was an actual figure of this epoch. To the facts of Hasper's life, Cramer added episodes from the lives of two other German knights, Adolph von Vaner and Heinrich von Schlotheim, to make Hasper appear even more heroic. Hasper was always ready to risk his life for the cause of justice. His tenants were devoted to him, for they suffered no hardship under his rule. The vassals of other knights turned to him for help when they were hard pressed by their own lords. His character is aptly portrayed by Edeline, the fiancée of Hugo von Hutten:

"Deutschland wärde keine Mördergrube sein, wenn er seine Kaiserkrone träg. Er wählt kalt im Herzblute lachender Buben, und weint der leidenden Unschuld eine gefühlvolle Thräne! fasst mit der Rechten den stolzen täckischen Mönch an der Gurgel, und theilt mit der Linken der hungernden Wittwe sein Brod aus!

Naturally enough, Hasper has many enemies. Not the least powerful of these is Ida von Ladenburg, the counterpart of Adelheid von Walldorf in Götz. These two women have similar dreams of power and by intrigue control political events to a large extent. Like Adelheid, Ida has a powerful ally in a bishop, who realizes that Hasper is dangerous to his welfare. Hasper's own house-priest, Luprian, betrays him and arranges the kidnapping of Benigma, Hasper's wife. The spirit of his dead father apprises Hasper of this and warns him of the future. Hasper rescues his mother

¹c. Cramer, p. iii f.

^{2&}lt;u>Ibid., I, 241.</u>

³Ibid., I, 297: "Eine blaue Flamme steigt vor ihm auf, und er bebt zurück. Das ganze Zimmer wird wie durch einen Blitz erleuchtet, und ein Geist in Rittertracht, mit geschlossnem Helmsturz, steht vor ihm."

from a wicked abbot, only to have her die in his arms. He works a terrible revenge on the abbot by imprisoning him in the burial wault of the eastle and giving him plenty of food and drink, so that the monk will have ample time to meditate on past sins. After this occurrence, Hasper loses all gentleness and kindness. He is feared by all knights and priests who are conscious of having done any wrong. Warfare in all its medieval horror becomes the chief theme of the novel from this point on.

Hasper a Spada is the link between the historical type of chivalrie romance and the novel of passion. It is predominantly historical, but the touch of the supernatural, which appears here for the first time in the chivalric romance, appealed to many. Some of Cramer's contemporaries, such as Spiess, Heinrich Miller, Woss, and Lindau, chose the novel of passion as their field of endeavour. We find a dominance of terroristic aspects and only a superficial treatment of historical background and facts. Departed spirits, subterranean corridors and vaults, trapdoors, tournaments, generous Saracens, scheming monks—these were all motifs to be used in a single novel. Many of the motifs came directly from the tale of terror, then so popular.

It is natural to find a large number of terroristic motifs in the chivalric narratives of Christian Heinrich Spiess, for he excelled in writing tales of terror. In his tales of terror, Spiess usually preferred to leave mysterious, supernatural events unexplained, but in the chivalric romances he created an atmosphere of mystery and then delighted in eventually explaining it away. Die Löwenritter, a four volume novel, appeared in 1794. It consisted of a succession of extremely tiresome anti-climaxes; evidently Spiess designed it to include every possible medieval motif. The Knights of the Lion are members of a secret society which has assumed the duty of dispensing justice as its leader sees fit. A knight must possess certain qualifications and undergo four dangerous trials before he is adjudged worthy of membership. The trials are of such a nature that they test a man's bravery, honor, and endurance. The hero, Friedrich von Froburg, overcomes all the obstacles in the first attempt. There are four degrees in the organization; if a knight desires promotion, he is subjected to new trials. Only the members of the fourth degree are eligible to leadership. The ritual is replete with symbolism and shows the influence of Freemasonry. The symbolic language, trials for the various degrees, and structure of the organization were copied by Sebastian Anicllo many years later in his novel, Die Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone oder die geheimen Rächenden (1828). In both novels, the most influential knights are tricked by a rival society into joining the Crusades; this rival society

desires to become all-powerful in Germany, and realizes that this is not possible until the Knights of the Lion are disposed of. The adventures of the knights and their wives in the Holy Land form the kernel of the story. The bravery of the Knights of the Lion sets them apart from other crusaders and attracts the attention of Korradin, nephew of Saladin. When the knights are finally captured by the Saracens. Korradin treats them with the greatest respect and promises them freedom. The motif of the noble Saracen occurs in many medieval romances. Usually the Saracen is a historical figure of some note, such as Saladin, Korradin, or Mureddin. He is the generous, noble enemy with none of the evil characteristics which the Crusaders thought peculiar to Saracens. A variation of this theme is the Saracen who falls in love with a Christian captive. In Die Löwenritter, Korradin is enamoured of Adelgunde, a lovely Sicilian. In spite of his noble qualities. she refuses to marry him and even rewards his devotion with treachery. In some instances, the captive is not averse to the Saracen's love and a happy union is the result.

The above motifs create medieval atmosphere. Even if an author has no accurate historical knowledge, he can include enough crusades, tournaments, and tribunals to make his story satisfy the demand for historical fiction. If, in addition to such medieval motifs, the author can include elements arousing fear and suspense, he is assured of success. Many times simply mechanical devices are used to arouse fear. The knights are constantly falling through trapdoors and finding themselves imprisoned in horrible dungeons. 1 Secret societies have ingenious methods of terrifying knights desiring membership. In one instance, a knight is forced to recline in a coffin. He expects sudden death, but instead, this is only a test of his courage, for someone steps on a concealed spring and the knight rolls out of the coffin into an underground chamber. There are castles equipped with secret passages and hidden doors. Strange characters, whose identity remains mysterious until late in the story, have secret hiding-places in or about a castle. In Die weisse Frau there is a dwelling place in the tomb of the supposedly dead lady Emma. When Thekla, the heroine of the novel, is in danger, the "white lady." whom everyone believes to be a ghost, rescues

lc. Spiess, <u>Die Löwenritter</u>, I, 99; H. Müller, <u>Udo v</u>.

<u>Horstenburg</u>, I, 207; H. Müller, <u>Graf Albert v. Reinstein</u>, I, 156;
S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 62.

^{23.} Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 79, 85.

³w. Lindau, Die weisse Frau, II, 93.

her and conceals her in this empty sepulcher. The lady finally declares herself Thekla's mother, who has lived in the tomb many years to watch over her daughter's welfare and protect her from the avarise of monk Beroald.

In most instances, seemingly supernatural apparitions are eventually explained. When the Knights of the Lion achieve too much fame through their exploits in the Holy Land, the leader of a rival society manufactures a clever scheme by which he hopes to bring back the Knights of the Lion to Germany. At a feast given by old Count Farnsburg, a stranger appears. He is dressed in the costume of one of Charlemagne's knights. He claims to be the founder of the house of Farnsburg, and cannot rest in peace until all his posterity lies buried beside him. He presents a horrible spectacle to the old count—the ghosts of the Knights of the Lion and their wives. Spiess allows his imagination full play and this scene is gruesome enough to satisfy the most bloodthirsty reader of tales of terror. The worthy ancestor disappears as mysteriously as he came. Here we find a footnote which prepares us for the dénouement which later follows:

"Oft scheint eine Begebenheit höchst unwahrscheinlich, ohne es deswegen in der That zu sein. Auch ihnen soll in der Folge Aufklärung dieser Geschichte werden, und bis diese erfolgt, bitte ich nochmals um Geduld."

There is nothing supernatural about the performance. No such hint of a later explanation occurs, however, in Aniello's <u>Bundesritter</u>. At midnight, old Count Löwenstein is awakened by the noise of clanking chains. Suddenly the door flies open and there appears a knight in black armor, dragging chains. He announces himself as Löwenstein's ancestor and warns Löwenstein not to permit Conrad, the hero of the novel, to marry his daughter. The second time the ghost appears, he demands that the Knights of the Iron Crown join the crusades. Just before the end of the novel the explanation of these nocturnal visits is made. The ghost is none other than a monk of a neighboring monastery. His about has commissioned him to carry out this hoax in order to destroy Conrad

¹C. Spiess, <u>Die Löwenritter</u>, II, 450: "Eine Seitenthür der Kapelle sprang auf; mehr als hundert geharnischte Ritter traten herein . . . sie trugen die Ehrenzeichen des Löwens . . . zwei Ritter mit weiblichen Gestalten am Arme erschienen. Der Anblick war schrecklich, sie warn ohne Harnisch, bedeckt mit Wunden, und verstümmelt an allen Gliedmassen, aus ihren Köpfen rann das Hirn herab "

²<u>Ibid.</u>, II, 456.

and the most powerful members of the secret organization. Similar scenes occur in the tale of terror; in the tale of terror, however, the supernatural incidents do not, as a rule, receive a natural explanation.

Although the chivalric romance was contemporary with the tale of terror, it had an earlier beginning. As a result, authors of tales of terror borrowed many of the more popular motifs, such as medieval settings, doughty knights, wicked monks, and secret tribunals, from the chivalric romance. In this way the two genres became closely related and it is sometimes difficult to determine to which literary type a novel belongs. Generally, the medieval type of the tale of terror was an exaggerated form of the chivalric romance.

CHAPTER III

THE TALE OF TERROR

The first sensational tale of terror-an English product. Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764) - served as a model for many similar works in England and was ultimately the inspiration of the German genre. Such novels were called Gothic stories or romances, because Walpole had given his novel the subtitle, "A Gothic Story." Previous to 1762, "Gothic" was a term of contempt Dryden. Shaftesbury, and Fielding employed it to mean something crude, dark, mysterious, and uncultured. Bishop Richard Hurd first vindicated the term in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762), in which he pointed out the favorable characteristics of "Gothic" times. Instead of referring vaguely to the Middle Ages as a period of dark and somber mystery and ignorance, he gave historical facts. Upon these he based the opinion that chivalry was the "natural and even sober effect of the feudal policy" and that "the prowess, gallantry, and magnificence of these sons of Mars is naturally and easily explained on this supposition."1

The publication of the <u>Poems of Ossian</u> (1760-63) further developed the interest in the mysterious and supernatural. The poems were supposedly written by Ossian, son of Fingal, a Celtic hero of the third century. Shadowy ghosts people the lakes, heaths, and hills; an air of mystery pervades the scene. <u>Ossian</u> became immensely popular in Germany; Herder and Goethe highly esteemed the poems, and many translations and imitations appeared. Some of the poems were reprinted in magazines and newspapers.

Many hack novelists became acquainted with <u>Ossian</u> through such ephemeral publications. Everyone read the poems. German authors borrowed Ossianic names freely. Carl G. Cramer's <u>Der arme Görge</u> (1800) included a poem entitled "Ryno, der Barde an Furas Hugel." In it appeared the names Amira, Arindal, Ryno, Salgar, and Selma,

Hard's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, ed. Edith Morley (London, 1911), pp. 4, 85.

²Rudolf Tombo, <u>Ossian in Germany</u> (New York, 1901), pp. 1, 65.

³Carl Cramer, Der arme Görge (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1800), pp. 178 ff.

taken from Ossian. Heinrich Müller, who imitated Walter Scott and also wrote Gothic romances, borrowed the title of his novel, Die Erstürmung von Selama oder die Rache, from Ossian.

In 1765, the appearance of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry by Bishop Percy increased popular taste for a mysterious past. Although the first complete German edition was not published until 1790, these ballads stimulated an interest for similar collections in Germany. The German collections had, in turn, a remarkable influence upon such English writers as Anne Radcliffe, Monk Lewis, and Walter Scott. Bürger's ballads, particularly Lenore (1773), were as well known abroad as in Germany.²

Interest in the Middle Ages and things "Gothic" occasioned the writing of Longsword, An Historical Romance (1752) by Reverend Thomas Leland. Walpole's Castle of Otranto soon followed. Walpole's novel was, as the author himself stated:

". . . . an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern. In the former, all was imagination and improbability: in the latter. Nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success. Invention has not been wanting: but the great resources of fancy have been dammed up by a strict adherence to common life." The subject of the story is the Gothic castle, where most of the action occurs. It has underground passages, dark, fearful chambers, and all the apparatus usually associated with a medieval fortress. The events take place between 1095 and 1243. On the morning of his wedding day. Manfred's son, who is engaged to Isabella, is found in the courtyard of the castle of Otranto. crushed beneath an enormous helmet. Isabella is forced to flee in order to escape Manfred, who, although long married to Hippolyta, is determined to put away his wife and to espouse Isabella in order to have a male heir. While Isabella is trying to elude her pursuers in the subterranean passage of the castle, she is rescued by a young peasant, Theodore, who resembles Alfonso. the original owner of the castle. Alfonso's portrait hangs in the gallery. At one point in the story, the figure leaves the frame and appears to Manfred, commanding him to give up Otranto to Theodore, the rightful heir. The latter is identified by the

^{17.} W. Bachmann, Some German Imitators of Walter Scott (Univ. of Chicago, 1933), p. 5.

²H. F. Wagener, Das Eindringen von Persys Reliques in Deutschland (Heidelberg, 1897), p. 23.

³H. Walpole, <u>The Castle of Otranto</u> ("The Kings Classics"; London, 1907), pp. iv f.

mark of a "bloody arrow"—a common motif in Gothic romances—and finally is united with Isabella, since his betrothed, Mathilda, had been inadvertently killed by her own father. Manfred and Hippolyta enter neighboring convents. Many unexplained ghostly events occur throughout the story, such as the appearance of huge pieces of armour, the arrival of a hundred men carrying an immense saber, the disaster caused by the massive helmet, and the curious intervention of Alfonso, who then ascends into heaven.

Walpole made little attempt at characterization; more than once the characters fall out of type by citing eighteenth century aphorisms. Moreover, although the setting of the novel is in southern Italy, one would scarcely know this except for the author's direct statement. Walpole had not the ability to see the Middle Ages in all their life and color, and consequently produced a novel which, although interesting and new to the readers of his age, seems extremely vague and disappointingly unimaginarive and trite to the modern reader. Few authors of Gothic romances, however, attempted to create authentic, historical settings.

Walter Scott was greatly impressed by the Castle of Otranto; in his introduction to a new edition, he called it the first modern attempt to found a tale of fiction on ancient romances of chivalry, and deemed that Walpole had succeeded in his aim to excel in the "art of exciting surprise and horror." Since Walpole had no idea how his novel, which was indeed an innovation, would be received, he published it as a translation from the Italian of Onuphrio Muralto. After this there was a deluge of novels with a Gothic castle as the chief motif, such as J. Bird's Castle of Hardayne (1795). Mrs. Parson's Castle of wolfenbach (1793), F. Lathom's Castle of Ollado (1799), and the anonymous Montrose or the Gothic Ruin (1800). Even in England, the Gothic novel did not become popular until long after the appearance of Horace Walpole's story. Clara Reeve's The Champion of Virtue (or The Old English Baron) (1777) was obviously an imitation of the Castle of Otranto with its clanking of invisible armor, haunted apartments, and dismal groams, and the sudden appearance of a knight in complete armor, who is recognized as the murdered owner of the Castle. The motif of the discovery of the lost heir in the person of a young peasant is also included. This novel appeared in German translation in 1789. In Germany, the English Gothic romance influenced the chivalric romance rather than the tale of terror. Novels with settings in medieval times were extremely popular. Many of them contained supernatural occurrences. but these events were seldom left unexplained.

The authors who knew how to emphasize the ghostly, the supernatural, and the horrible were the best known. In England,

Mrs. Radcliffe was outstanding. She was better known in Germany and France than Walpole and other authors of the English tale of terror. The German novelists, Spiess, Cramer, Vulpius, and Zschokke were as familiar to the English and French public as to the German. In England, any book advertised as a product of the German school was purchased for that reason alone, and in Germany, a novel needed only the letters "a.d.E." on the title-page to assure its success. A swarm of translators chose originals which would have the greatest popular appeal. Moreover, loan-libraries enjoyed the same favor in England as in Germany. In them one found the products of the German school. Carlyle characterized the romances of Weber and other German authors as specimens of "the bowl-and-dagger department" where

"Black Forest and Lubberland, sensuality and horror, the spectre nun and the charmed moonshine shall not be wanting. Boisterous outlaws also, with huge whiskers, and the most cat-o-mountain aspect; tear-stained sentimentalists, the grimmest man-haters, ghosts, and the like suspicious characters, will be found in abundance."

The basic motifs of the tale of terror were ghosts,—
either real or manufactured,— the devil, evil spirits, Gothic
castles, tempests, imprisoned heroines, kind hermits, birthmarks,
wicked monks, secret societies, magic mirrors, swords, enchanted
wands, and all the other paraphernalia associated with black magic.
Plots were essentially similar and characterization was standardized. There was always the lovely blond heroine, who, at some
time in the course of events, suffered imprisonment in a haunted
castle or among corpses in a dank dungeon. The hero was the
valiant youth of obscure birth and was eventually revealed as the
lost child of a noble family. There was at least one villainous

lThere has been some discussion as to whether Walpole or Radcliffe had the greater influence upon the German tale of terror. J. Brauchli, in his <u>Der englische Schauerroman um 1800</u> (Weida in Thüringen, 1928), p. 117, is inclined to minimize Walpole's importance in Germany, but he bases his argument upon the false assumption that the English novel first appeared in German in 1794. L. M. Price, in <u>The Publication of Eng. Lit. in Germany</u> (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1934), p. 17, has pointed out that Brauchli failed to discover the 1768 translation.

²F. W. Stokoe, German Influence in the English Romantic Period (Cambridge, 1926), p. 17.

Thomas Carlyle, "State of German Literature," <u>Critical</u> and <u>Miscellaneous Essays</u> (New York, 1880), p. 19.

monk, and sometimes there were as many as three. The monk was governed either by an unholy passion for the heroine or by lust for power. Secret societies were an important motif in the German novel, but they appeared less frequently in the English tale of terror. The Inquisition figured prominently in the works of both countries. Conjuration of spirits and pacts with the devil were motifs inspired by the current interest in cabbalism. An effect of supernatural awe was built up by the use of desolate scenery. tempests, screeching owls, and hovering bats. Exciting events invariably occurred in haunted castles, burial vaults, or dark, windswept moors. One has the impression that nothing unusual happened except at the mystic hour of midnight. Ghosts stalked through deserted corridors, clothed in flowing white robes or in black armor, dragging chains or carrying flickering candles. In the earlier narratives, the ghosts were real spectres, but after 1800 the tale of terror in which supernatural events were explained became the vogue. People, long believed dead, appeared as phantoms to haunt their persecutors or murderers. These pseudo-spirits used mechanical devices to increase the terror which they wished to arouse. A phosphorescent glow, clanking chains, or tinkling bells announced their presence. Suspense attained by supernatural mystery was a requisite of a good tale of terror. Even in novels where supernatural events were explained away, the denouement was supposed to contain astounding discoveries, which would partially repay the reader for the suspense he had endured. Mysterious manuscripts, letters of warning, inexplicable music, dismal groans, and suddenly disappearing lights were some of the motifs used to create an atmosphere of expectation and dread.

English influence doubtless had much to do with initiating the craze for the tale of terror in Germany during the period from 1790 to 1830. Social factors, however, were equally responsible. The tale of terror was different from any previous literary mode. for it was written with the sole purpose of satisfying the public's love of the horrible and the supernatural. During this period. secret societies, particularly the Freemasons, exercised a tremendous influence. The mysterious rites and strange practices of such organizations appealed to a people wearied of the theories and rules of the age of rationalism. Members of every class of society succumbed to the desire to belong to a secret order. The swindler, Cagliostro (Guiseppe Balsamo, 1743-1795), was hailed as an almost supernatural being, for people were only too ready to believe that he really could summon spirits and transform the baser metals into gold. He introduced new rituals into Freemasonry, claiming that they were borrowed from the ancient parchments of the Egyptians. Cagliostro founded the first order in

which women might participate, and thus gained an extraordinary prestige. His power was believed in implicitly until 1787, when he was exposed by Elisa von Recke, a former adherent. When Cagliostro was in Mitau in 1779, she eagerly awaited the promised contact with departed spirits, but nothing happened. Instead, Elisa merely heard repetitions of Cagliostro's stories about buried treasure, alchemy, and reincarnation. None of his prophecies materialized, and she began to doubt his integrity. Cagliostro was proven a fraud and was doubly disgraced because of his part in the necklace scandal at the French court. Nevertheless, even after this exposé, Lavater, Sarasin, and Schlosser received and supported him.

Naturally, the events of Cagliostro's career excited much interest. The fascination Cagliostro and secret societies held for the public was sufficient proof that any novels containing these motifs would be read avidly. Schiller first used the figure of Cagliostro in a novel, Der Geisterseher (1789). The ghostseer, a mysterious person guised as an Armenian, continually thrusts himself into the path of a German prince visiting in Venice. He alarms the prince by making prophecies which are fulfilled. At a seance, the ghost-seer appears as a Russian officer. This seance is obviously modeled upon those held by Cagliostro. The guests are seated in a mystic circle around an altar adorned with a skull, a crucifix, and a Bible. The spiritualist's costume is most peculiar and is covered with magic symbols. As soon as the magician falls into a trance, everyone in the circle feels an electric shock. Thunder is heard, the light is extinguished, and the spirit of the prince's dearest friend appears. This spirit answers the prince's questions and then disappears. When the magician awakens from the trance, the Russian tells him that never again will he be allowed to summon spirits. Immediately, soldiers break down the door, arrest the spiritualist, and investigate the house. They find complicated apparatus used to create the ghostly apparitions. 2 The prince questions the magician about the Russian and hears strange tales. This mysterious person is said to be

la. von Hanstein, "Wie entstand Schiller's Geisterseher?"

Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte (Berlin, 1903), p. 33f

^{2&}quot;Der Geisterseher," <u>Schillers sämtliche Werke</u> (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904), II, 253: "In diesem Gewölbe fand man eine Electrisiermaschine, eine Uhr, und eine kleine silberne Glocke, welche mit dem Altar und dem darauf beïestigten Crucifixe Communication hatte"

immortal; he neither eats nor sleeps, always disappears for one hour at midnight, and is supposed to be able to summon spirits. The Armenian-Russian is in reality an officer of the Inquisition and uses all sorts of mysterious methods to induce the Prince to join the Catholic Church. Eventually, he is successful.

Der Geisterseher had a significant influence upon Schiller's contemporaries. The other sources of the tale of terror. particularly the English Gothic novel and Bürger's ballads, were important, but the Geisterseher really initiated the genre in Germany. 1 Schiller's story was very short, and he never completed it. Other authors, however, seized upon this motif of a ghostseer and elaborated upon it to the extent of two and three volumes. One such novel was Bornschein's Moritz Graf von Portokar oder zwei Jahre aus dem Leben eines Geistersehers (1800). Count Moritz is the object of a deep-laid intrigue, whereby a group of thieves hopes to obtain his large fortune. One of the thieves assumes the role of a ghost-seer. He produces ghosts, earthquakes, skeletons, and life-giving elixirs upon command. His costume is the same as that of Schiller's ghost-seer, even to the detail of his appearing bare-foot at seances. When the count expresses a desire to speak with his father's spirit, the ghost-seer agrees to arrange the meeting. The seance is exactly like that in the Geisterseher. When the Count's fiancee dies, the spiritualist brings her back to life. We realize, of course, that she has been given a powerful sleeping potion; the ghost-seer appears on the scene at the moment when she is supposed to revive.

A similar scheme forms the plot of Albrecht's <u>Die Geister der Nacht</u> (1796).³ In this novel, the ghost-seer has few accomplices. He relies rather upon an old castle to awaken the Baron's fear of the supernatural. The castle is rigged up with machinery which operates whenever a concealed spring is pressed. A knight in armor springs out through a secret door in the wall, an iron grating descends from the ceiling and encloses the bed, mysterious voices are heard, and earthquakes shake the castle. The Baron is forced to leave, but the ghost-seer accompanies him and arranges similar terrifying devices in other quarters.

¹ Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, V, 592.

²j. Bornschein, <u>Moritz Graf von Portokar</u> (Meissen: Erbstein, 1800), I, 169. The motif also occurs in August Lafontaine's <u>Rudolph von Werdenberg</u> (Berlin, 1793).

³j. F. Albrecht, "Die Geister der Nacht," Trümmer der Vergangenheit aus ihren Ruinen ans Licht gebracht (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796), p. 134.

The Cagliostro craze also affected Veit Weber, chiefly an author of chivalric romances. Consequently, he wrote <u>Die Teufelsbeschwörung</u> (1791), in which an old man is convinced that he can summon spirits to serve him. He has a mysterious chamber of exorcism, draped in black and adorned with mystic symbols. His small nephew strays into the room and begins to read aloud from the secret book of wisdom. A terrifying devil appears and murders the child. The old man believes that this was a real devil, but really it was a scoundrel who assumed this disguise to deceive the uncle, kill the child, and become sole heir of his victims!

It was not unusual during this period for people to believe that spirits actually did exist. Interest in magic was evidenced by Wiegleb's Unterricht in der natürlichen Magie (1779), Funk's Maturliche Magie (1783), and Keller's Grab des Aberglaubens. Paracelsus was again brought to light and his theories concerning elemental beings were used by our novelists. Christian Vulpius! Der Maltheser (1804) was not a novel concerning the activities of the knights of Malta, as the name implies, but a narrative in which a sylphid played the chief role. "Sylphid" was the name given by Paracelsus to the elemental beings of the air, conceived as mortal, but soulless. A knight of Malta is introduced to a tiny sylphid held captive in a glass case, by the ghost-seer, Bartofano. The knight releases the sylphid, who immediately becomes a lovely woman. She explains that she can possess a soul only after she weds a mortal. The knight is so much in love with her that he agrees to marry her. We recognize this same theme in Fouqué's Undine.

Christian Spiess' <u>Das Petermännchen</u> (1791) was the most famous tale of terror in which spirits had an active part. This novel had every possible kind of spirit. The first one we meet is Little Peter. The hero, Rudolf, thinks that Peter is an ancestral spirit, but really he is a henchman of the devil. Opposed to Peter is Mathilde, the spirit of virtue. They both fight for the mastery of Rudolf's soul. It seems only right that Peter should win, for Rudolf seduces six maidens, murders at least thirty people, and commits incest. In spite of these crimes, he remains a fascinating personality and the reader does not rejoice when the devil, accompanied by Peter, comes to claim his soul. This scene in which the devil rends Rudolf from limb to limb and

¹Spiess introduced the figure of Paracelsus himself in the novel, <u>Die Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier</u> (Leipzig: Leo, 1798), I, 114 ff.

scatters his brains about the room is obviously an imitation of similar ones in the Faust chapbooks. Since Spiess did not treat Rudolf sympathethically, another author, E. Heller, added a third volume, entitled Mathilde oder der Triumph der Tugend über das Laster (1801), in which Mathilde succeeds in rescuing Rudolf from the devil's clutches. The events in this volume, however, are not nearly as exciting. Spiess was a master in thinking up hairraising situations and then leaving the reader in suspense. He was particularly fond of depicting very erotic scenes, where the hero would try to overcome a maiden's virtue. Usually the hero was successful, but sometimes it took much effort and the use of magic potions. If this brought no favorable result, the hero could always summon the devil to aid him. Similar situations occur in Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen (1795), where we again find a good spirit opposed to the devil. A young knight sets out to rescue twelve lovely maidens, who are bewitched. Only a certain individual can free them from the enchantment. The spirit of St. Gall undertakes to lead the knight to them, but he has a difficult time making the knight follow a straight road, for the devil puts the most attractive temptations in the way.

Guardian spirits who belong to the hero's family are another variation of the spirit motif. Spiess introduces us to one of these in his <u>Der Alte Ueberall und Nirgends</u> (1792). Our sympathies are aroused when we meet the forlorn family spirit of Hildebrandt's <u>Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Felskluft</u>. This poor, tormented spirit is doomed to wander for centuries until certain conditions are fulfilled. Before he became a spirit, the ghosts of those whom he had wronged haunted him constantly. These scenes are the acme of horror. 1

These spirits were always garbed as either hermits or knights. They appeared most unexpectedly and dramatically. Banquet halls, bedchambers, and burial vaults all assumed a fearful aspect as soon as one of these dread apparitions would appear. More often than not they were enveloped by a blaze of light. In a few instances the spirit was a woman. Isabelle von Wallenrodt's novel, Emma von Ruppin (1794), contained a female spirit. The heroine was imprisoned for three years in the burial vaults of an old castle. During this time, her sole companion was the spirit of her best friend, who came to visit her only in times of

¹C. Hildebrandt, <u>Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Fels-</u>kluft (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823), I, 71,81,140,165,192.

²I. von Wallenrodt, <u>Ruma von Ruppin</u>, eine Geschichte voll Leiden, Freuden, und Wunder aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert (Qued-

adversity. The spirit who aided the heroine of <u>Drahomira mit dem Schlangenringe</u> was entirely anonymous. She gave Drahomira a ring as a talisman. After Drahomira married, her guardian spirit appeared once more, asked for the ring, and declared that Drahomira would have no more use for it. The motif of the spirit supplying his or her charge with a talisman was a frequent one. Often the talisman was a ring, girdle, sword, hat, book, or spear. Female spirits were always gentle and their approach was heralded by sweet music. They did not congeal the spectator with terror as did the hermit or knight spirits, but seemed very much like real persons.

Nearly all of the novels with supernatural elements discussed thus far have combined the tale of terror and the chivalric romance. In many of them, knightly deeds of valor, descriptions of battles, and tender love scenes outweighed the element of mystery. Some novels written at this time, however, tended in another direction. Authors permitted their imaginations full expression, and the results were stories of the most fantastic sort. These stories might be compared to fairy-tales except that most of them completely lacked the lightness and delicacy peculiar to that literary genre. Benedicte Naubert was probably the only writer who nearly approached the fairy-tale. Velleda, ein Zauberroman (1795) is charmingly imaginative and makes no attempt to include anything rational. A king has nine lovely daughters, whom he gives into the care of Velleda, a sorceress, when war breaks out with the Romans. She changes them into doves and flies with them to Ireland. These girls are blessed with immortality if they renounce all sensual love. Their adventures in Italy form the remainder of the novel. When reading Velleda one involuntarily thinks of the Marchen of Tieck or Novalis. Benedicte Naubert was able to express that same imaginative beauty and wistfulness of mood, which can make the reader fully unconscious, or at least very tolerant, of the utter impossibility of the events of the story. J. F. Albrecht also attempted a story of this type. Ardulf, Othona und Edda oder Die drei Glücklichen (1796) is imaginative enough, but the nationalistic spirit of the author is so evident that the tale does not, in any measure, exert the fairy-

linburg und Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1794), II, 89.

lchristian Spiess, <u>Das Petermännchen</u> (2d ed.; Prag und Leipzig: Albrecht, 1793), I, 134, 247; Spiess, <u>Der Alte Ueberall und Nirgends</u> (Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1803), III, 97; J. von Voss, <u>Der Monnenräuber oder die Abtei St. Blasii in Natolien</u> (Berlin: Schmidts Wittwe, 1818), I, 144, 224, 227.

like charm of Naubert's Velleda. The help of a spirit brings happiness to the three young people who despair of ever finding it. 2 We encounter a guardian spirit again in Alois Gleich's Jetta, die schöne Zauberin oder der Wolfsbrunn (1797). This spirit does not have to forfeit his peace and guard his family as a penance, but is given the privilege of protecting his son from the powerful sorceress. Jetta. The sorceress drinks from the magic well at midnight, whereupon she becomes a mad wolf. At dawn, she resumes her normal shape of a beautiful young girl. If she neglects to drink from the well, she first loses her magic powers. The second time she fails to do so, she is bereft of her beauty and eternal youth. The third time, she is sacrificed to whatever fate may befall her. She lives only for twenty years at a time, and then sleeps for twenty years; this continues indefinitely. Jetta is finally destroyed because the desire to wreak vengeance on her escaped lover makes her forget the magic well. While she is a wolf, she kills her lover, but he returns to earth as a spirit and helps his sons bring about the destruction of the sorceress.

The romantic tale of terror which resembled a fairy-tale was by no means as popular as the tale of terror in the style of Christian Spiess and Heinrich Müller. It was, however, a fore-runner of the literary Märchen of Romanticism. Romanticists may have borrowed motifs from this literary stratum, for Fouqué, Tieck, and others admitted their acquaintance with the material.

After 1800 there were few novels containing anything truly supernatural. The literary style did not improve, although the supernatural elements were eliminated. Authors still used a feeble style, exaggerated language, and conventional characterizations. The standard types of the brave hero, fainting heroine, and deceitful villain were retained, and the motifs of a secret society, Gothic castle, and discovery of the long-lost heir continued. Some of the most prolific writers of this type of tale of terror were Gottlieb Bertrand, Julius von Voss, Theodor

lj. F. Albrecht, "Ardulf, Othona und Edda oder die drei Glücklichen," <u>Trümmer der Vergangenheit</u> (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796), p. 9: "Ich bin die Tochter eines Deutschen, die Muth zu sterben von ihrem Vater erhielt." Such sentiments occur frequently.

²A similar spirit, or fairy, is the motivating force in Wallenrodt's <u>Prinz Hassan der Hochherzige</u>, <u>bestraft durch Rache und glücklich durch Liebe</u> (Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1796).

³J. Alois Gleich, <u>Jetta, die schöne Zauberin oder der Wolfsbrunn</u> (Wien, 1797), p. 22.

Hildebrand, and Heinrich Müller. Christian Spiess did not neglect this opportunity to increase his popularity. He wrote <u>Die</u> <u>Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier</u> (1798), in which the hero has many mysterious experiences, all apparently supernatural, but really machinations of relatives to obtain his fortune. <u>Die Berggeister</u> (1797) is the same type of narrative; here Spiess uses robbers instead of relatives as the perpetrators of a hoax. This novel is a combination of the robber novel and the tale of terror. The robbers frighten away inquisitive visitors from their stronghold by disguising themselves as spirits. They are generous to the poor and harm only the rich. Finally, the robber chieftain determines to forsake his profession and become an honest man. This is an echo of Rinaldo Rinaldini.

Gottlieb Bertrand was the best imitator of Mrs. Radcliffe's type of narrative. He was able to maintain suspense, introduce various mystifying elements and achieve exciting climaxes. In Der Sarkophag (1805), the hero, Moritz von Wildenberg, has many strange experiences while visiting Berby Castle. He finds in his room mysterious letters and the miniature of a girl he had known in Santo Domingo. When he investigates the vaults of the castle. threatening spirits appear and warn him to leave the building at once. These apparitions are later discovered to be nothing but avaricious monks from a neighboring monastery, who are using this method to drive away the inhabitants of Berby and gain the property for themselves. Bertrand resembles Anne Radcliffe in his effort to build up a continuous series of terrifying events with no hint of final explanation. Gottlieb Bertrand was influenced not only by the English tale of terror, but also by the contemporary robber novel. A band of robbers plays an important part in Die wandernde Jungfrau (1802). A chapter of this narrative is entitled "Ein Rinaldinis Streich." Even without this specific reference, we would recognize in the figure of the robber chieftain. Marc Egosino, the model bandit. Rinaldo Rinaldini. He assumes many disguises. but relies chiefly upon popular superstition to aid him. His headquarters are in a region haunted by a wandering maiden. The inhabitants are overly fearful and superstitious. and Egosino can disguise himself as a spirit and appear anywhere without fear of detection. When Egosino suddenly arises from a sepulcher on a dark, stormy night and confronts the lonely wayfarer, even the reader is tempted to believe that the bandit is a real ghost.

If the reading public wanted excitement, it is not difficult to understand why these tales of terror were so popular. Scenes in which corpses suddenly become alive and arise from their coffins, and in which moaning ghosts haunt the galleries of a Gothic castle could congeal anyone with terror. A howling storm, windswept corridors, fluttering bats, and dismal groans preceded the entry of the ghost. What reader would not admire the hero who, in spite of all this, would risk his life to unravel the mystery. After he has proven himself to be so daring, it is only fitting that he turn out to be the heir of a noble family, and thus be able to marry the high-born heroine.

Anti-Catholicism was a distinguishing feature of the tale of terror. We have seen that it was not limited to this genre. for nearly all chivalric romances and robber novels included wicked monks among their characters. Johann Ernst Albrecht (pseud. J. A. Stade) contributed to the hostility against Catholicism by his polemical books, Ein Beitrag zur geheimen Geschichte des Klosterlebens (1781), Therese und Edelwald, eine Klostergeschichte (1784), and Skizzen aus dem Klosterleben (1786). A villainous monk and a lustful bishop are important figures in Karl Seidel's Geisterscherin Gräfin Scraphine von Hohenacker (1796-98). Karl Hitter portrayed church officials in the worst possible light in his Pfaffen-, Nonnen-, und Mönchs-Intrigen (1795). Few German novels with an anti-clerical tendency had a monk as the leading character. Matthew Gregory Lewis introduced this feature in England in his novel. The Monk, and from there it spread to France and Germany. The hostile attitude towards the Catholic Church was by no means as prevalent in England as in Germany. Lewis spent some time in Germany and doubtless was acquainted with books of an anti-clerical nature. Certainly he was familiar with Veit

le Theodor Hildebrand, Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse Morano oder die geheimmisvolle Rache (Berlin: Lüderitz, 1824), II, 96.:
"Der Wind umheulte den Thurm ihre Lampe warf nur einen dunkeln und flimmernden Schein von sich, und ihre Sanduhr benachrichtigte sie, das Mitternacht nahe sey dann ertönte ein tiefes Seufzer in der Gallerie."

²Theodor Hildebrand, <u>Das Geisterschloss oder die Auferstehung im Todtengewölbe</u> (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827), III, 48: "Er erblickt eine Gestalt, mit langem schwarzem Schleier vom Kopf bis zu den Füssen umhüllt. " Julius von Voss, <u>Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo</u> (Berlin: Schmidts Wittwe, 1818), p. 256.

³G. Bertrand, Der Sarkophag, oder die Geheimnisse des Schlosses Berby (Lüneburg: Wahlstab, 1805), II, 295; J. von Voss, Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo, p. 257; T. Hildebrand, Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse Morano, II, 203; T. Hildebrand, Das Geisterschloss, III, 187.

Weber's novels, in which monks were the deepest-dyed villains. These literary products influenced him to a large extent when he was writing his novel. The sources of The Monk have been widely investigated: a short resume of the results will show how much Matthew Lewis owed to German sub-literary fiction. In 1903. George Herzfeld published an article entitled "Eine neue Quelle für Lewis' 'Monk, '" in which he showed that Lewis had obtained the Legend of the Bleeding Nun. Lindenberg Castle, and the contemplated abduction of Agnes from Musaus' tale "Die Entführung."2 Otto Ritter, in an article "Studien zu M. G. Lewis' Roman 'Ambrosio or the Monk.'" emphasized the influence of Anne Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho and works of Horace Walpole and Clara Reeves upon Lewis. He also pointed out the fact that the description of Ambrosio's death was taken almost word for word from Veit Weber's Teufelsbeschwörung; 3 that the fall of Ambrosic brought about by Mathilda was similar to a situation in Cazotte's Le Diable Amoureux: that the Wandering Jew was analogous to Schiller's Geisterseher; 4 that the ballad, Alonzo the Brave, was based on Barger's ballads: and that the conjuring of the Devil was a Faust theme. Ritter did not indicate Lewis' familiarity with Spiess' Petermannchen (1791), which probably supplied Lewis with additional material. In spite of the fact that Miller-Fraureuth declares that Spiess nowhere describes in detail a pact made with

¹Geroge Herzfeld, "Eine neue Quelle für Lewis' 'Monk,'" <u>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Litteraturen</u>, CIV (1900), 310-12.

²Karl Musdus, <u>Volksmärchen der Deutschen</u> (Gotha, 1787), V, 247-76.

M. G. Lewis, The Monk (London, 1922), p. 355: "Headlong fell the monk thru' the airy waste: the sharp point of rock received him, and he rolled from precipice to precipice, till, bruised and mangled, he rested on the river's banks. Instantly a violent storm arose: the winds in fury rent up rocks and forests: the rain . . . swelled the stream; the waves overflowed their banks; they reached the spot where Ambrosic lay, and, when they abated, carried with them the corpse of the desparing monk." Cf., Veit Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, IV, 135 ff.

⁴Contemporaries of Lewis also pointed out the indebtedness of The Monk to Der Geisterseher; the Critical Review, XIX (1797), p. 194, claimed that the chief character was "copied as to the more prominent features from Schiller's incomprehensible Armenian."

the devil, 1 just such a scene does occur in Das Petermännchen, 2 where Rudolph agrees to let the devil have his soul after the expiration of twelve years. The pact is signed with Rudolph's blood. A similar pact is an important feature of The Monk; the procedure resembles that of the German novel: "He (the devil) struck the iron pen which he held into a vein in the Monk's left hand. It pierced deep and was instantly filled with blood." 3

Herzfeld cited L. Wyplel's article on "Ein Schauerroman als Quelle der Ahnfrau. "4 in which a comparison is made of an anonymous tale of terror entitled Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch und Lampe oder die Beschwörung im Schlosse Stern bei Prag, and Grillparzer's Die Ahnfrau. Herzfeld believed that Lewis had plagiarized the German tale of terror, and consequently published "Die eigentliche Quelle von Lewis! 'Monk.' "5 Otto Ritter combated this assertion, however, in "Die angebliche Quelle von M. G. Lewis' 'Monk.'"6 and sought to prove that Die blutende Gestalt must have been written subsequent to The Monk. It remained for August Sauer to settle the issue. He compared Friedrich von Oertel's translation of The Monk with the tale of terror and showed that the latter was a plagiarism. In the introduction of his edition of Grillparzer, he stated: "Der deutsche Roman ist nichts weiter als die Bearbeitung einiger Kapitel aus dem englischen Schauerroman. Ambrosio or The Monk."8

Walter Scott characterized <u>The Monk</u> as "a romance in the German taste," and certainly it was a collection of material from the most varied German sources. August Wilhelm Schlegel reviewed Lewis' novel in the <u>Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung</u>, no.

¹c. Miller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter-und Rduberromane (Halle, 1894), p. 61.

²C. H. Spiess, Das Petermannchen, II, 194.

³M. G. Lewis, p. 350.

⁴L. Wyplel, "Ein Schauerroman als Quelle der Ahnfrau," Euphorion, VII (1900), pp. 725-58.

⁵G. Herzfeld, "Die eigentliche Quelle von Lewis' 'Monk,'"

Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, CXI
(1903), pp. 316-323.

⁶⁰tto Ritter, "Die angebliche Quelle von M. G. Lewis' 'Monk, '" ibid., CXIII (1904), pp. 56-65.

⁷Herzfeld replied to this challenge with "Noch einmal die Quelle des 'Monk,' i ibid., CXV (1905), pp. 70-73.

⁸Grillparzers sämtliche Werke, ed. August Sauer (Wien, 1909), I. p. L.

157 (1798), pointing out the enormous amount of material Lewis had borrowed:

"Die englischen Kunstrichter haben nicht ermangelt, diese Aehnlichkeit mit gewissen deutschen Dolch-und Geisterdichtungen zu bewerken, von denen sich doch der Mönch durch Klarheit der Darstellung vortheilhaft unterscheidet, und ihn als Zögling of the wild German School anzusehen. Diese Herren erfahren meistens nur das, was in den unteren Regionen unserer Litteratur vorgeht, und haben sich danach einen allgemeinen Begriff von ihr gemacht."

Lewis obtained the idea of assigning the leading role of his novel to a monk from Monvel's drama Les Victimes Cloîtrées (1791). The theme of the deprayed and villainous monk was not new to German and French literature, although clerical figures were seldom major characters. Lewis doubtless was also familiar with the monks of German romances of chivalry who were generally princes of the Church, engaged in the basest crimes. We remember the monk as the ally of some evil woman, who seeks to bring about the downfall of the virtuous German knight. Lewis! Monk, an abbot of the Capuchin monastery in Madrid, is known as the "Holy Man." The adoration accorded him by the women of the city makes him proud and conceited. Lucifer easily ensuares him, and thus Ambrosio becomes the murderer of his mother, then the seducer and murderer of his sister. Fiction readers found him such a fascinating figure that immediately other novels appeared with monks as chief characters. 2 The English novel was also extremely popular in Germany, where many translations and variations were published. August Sauer has included among this list of German publications of the Monk an anonymous novel, Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend (1806), but this has little similarity with the English novel. The only apparent English influence is the deseription of a Gothic castle. The monk referred to in the title

laugust Wilhelm von Schlegels sämtliche Werke, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig, 1847), XI, 274.

ZEdith Birkhead, p. 75: "The New Monk by R. S. Esq.; The Monk of Madrid by George Moore; The Bloody Monk of Udolpho by T. J. Horsley-Curties; Manfroni, the One-handed Monk by J. J."

³Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend (Hamburg und Altona, 1810), p. 123 f.: "Es rührte noch aus den alten Ritterzeiten her und aus den vielen unterirdischen Gängen zu schließen, schien es der Sitz eines Raubritters zu seyn an der Morgenseite erhob sich ein Thurm von kühner gothischer Bauart ganz der Barberey des Zeitalters seiner Entstehung angemessen."

is a friend of the hero, whom he rescues from certain death. There are also two wicked monks, one of whom seizes the heroine. imprisons her in his monastery, and demands that she yield herself to him. This monk, however, could just as well be a cony of a cleric in a romance of chivalry: there is no indication that Lewis' Ambrosio served as the model. Another monk in the novel is ruled by an overwhelming desire for power. He reminds us of the prelates of Veit Weber's narratives. Both these monks, however, are minor characters and have little influence upon the development of the plot. The monk figuring in Heinrich Miller's Vasco und Isabella oder der Gross-Inquisitor (1819) is undoubtedly a counterpart of Ambrosio. He, too, is an ambitious, vainglorious man. He seduces a maiden of his own family and denounces his son. He becomes a member of the Inquisition and his power, therefore, is limited. In order to enrich himself, he kills his brother. poisons all the accomplices, and finally murders his uncle, a rich abbot. Miller made no attempt to emulate Lewis in anything but this characterization. Nothing supernatural occurs, and the only motif borrowed from the conventional tale of terror is the discovery of a long-lost son.

As in the robber novel, the German tale of terror had a greater effect upon the French genre than upon the English. Many of the French novels showing German influence were translated into into the German soon after publication and were placed in loan-libraries. The <u>Chevaliers du Cygne</u> (1795) by Félicité Ducret, comtesse de Genlis, is an example of this. The novel is more like a German chivalric romance, however, than a tale of terror. It contains only one supernatural incident, and that is borrowed from German literature.² This is the legend of the bleeding nun.

libid., p. 106: "... während er unermüdet neue Ränke schmiedete, hielten selbst kluge Männer ... ihn für ein Muster der Frömmigkeit und klösterlichen Zucht. Seine Seele samt ihrer Hälle waren so beschaffen, dass selbst eine Gesellschaft Banditen Bedenken getragen hätte ihn vierundzwanzig Stunden in ihrer Mitte zu dulden."

Emme. de Genlis, <u>Die Schwanenritter</u>, eine <u>Kunde der Vorwelt</u>, trans. from the French (Hamburg: Fauche, 1796), I, 57:
"Aber wer kann das Entsetzen ausdrücken, das Grausen, das ihn ergriff, als er eine schreckliche Todtengestalt erblickte. Er sah ein scheusliches mit Blut bedeckte Gerippe, das sich mit dumpfen Stöhnen und blutige Spuren hinter sich zurücklassen, langsam fort bewegte und da es durch die Thür schritt, in die Lüfte verschwand."

In later editions, Mme.de Genlis made the ghost merely a figment of the hero's imagination. She probably did this because of the increasing tendency in England and Germany to explain away the supernatural events. The rest of the novel is a typical chivalric romance, containing lengthy descriptions of knightly jousts, medieval battles, and court receptions. German influence is also apparent in the historical treatment. De Genlis uses footnotes with source references in the same fashion as Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert.

Another author of the historical tale of terror was Mme. Cottin. Her <u>Mathilde</u>, ou <u>mémoires tirés de l'histoire des croisades</u> (1805) is similar to Naubert's <u>Walter von Montbarry</u> or Spiess' <u>Die Löwenritter</u>. Action is confined to the Holy Land, where Richard the Lion-hearted is engaged in war against Saladin. Richard is not the hero of the story, but rather Corradin, Saladin's brother. Corradin falls in love with Mathilde, the beautiful sister of Richard. The Saracen has a most noble character, and a happy union with Mathilde is the reward of his generosity and bravery. The novel is prefaced with a historical resumé of the Crusades.

Most French authors could read German and English tales of terror in the original, but for those who could not, the Bibliothèque universelle des romans provided easy means to become acquainted with foreign fiction. In it, there were lengthy synopses of German novels, although the translators were sometimes accredited as the real authors. Naubert's Hermann von Unna appeared in the Nouvelle bibliothèque in 1798, and was reviewed with high praise. 1 Christian Spiess was also represented in this series by Olivia Ameruti, a portion of his Biographien der Selbstmörder (1785).2 It was a tale of terror with a medieval setting. The knight, Willibald, rescues a beautiful Italian girl from the Sultan. He marries her and they go to Germany to live in his lonely castle, surrounded by "des forêts sombres et quelquefois impénétrables l'environnoient." Such descriptions create an atmosphere of horror and mystery and prepare the reader for the appearance of the ghosts of Olivia's two murdered husbands. The motif of the lecherous monk is also included in the novel. In the French tale of terror, monks and prelates are accorded no

¹B. Naubert, "Herman d'Unna ou aventure arrivées au commencement du quinzième siècle," <u>Nouvelle bibliothèque universelle des romans</u>, trans. G. de Bock (Paris, 1798), IV, 171.

²H. Spiess, "Olivia Amenuti," <u>Nouvelle bibliothèque univer-</u> <u>selle des romans</u>, trans. M. Lebaume (Paris, 1797), VI, 177.

better treatment than their German and English brothers. The theme had already been introduced into French literature earlier in the century. An account of a series of seductions and assassinations of young girls and number by monks was the material of Intrigues Monastiques ou l'amour encapuchonné, published anonymously at the Hague in 1739. Diderot's La religieuse, written in 1760 and published in 1796, was the story of a maiden forced to enter a convent and take vows. The same theme occurred in Monvel's Les victimes cloîtrées (1791) and Marsollier's Camille ou le souterain (1791). Both German and English writers had been influenced by this tendency towards anti-Catholicism in French literature. The characteristic was more marked in Germany and France than in England, until the publication of The Monk gave the tendency an added impetus.

The English tale of terror was widely imitated in France; the inspiration provided by German literature, however, should not be disregarded. Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen was translated into French in 1792, and must have influenced such authors as Mme. de Genlis and Mme. Cottin. The works of Benedicte Naubert and C. Spiess were also well known. Particularly such tales of terror as Das Petermännchen and Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen were very popular. The motifs of guiding spirits, demons, and magic utensils, such as hats, mirrors, wands, were present in these and many other German novels known to French writers. These motifs of a purely supernatural type were not as common in English as in German fiction. There was nothing in the English literature of the period to compare with the fairy-tale type of story produced by Naubert and Gleich. Yet we encounter this sort of narrative among French productions. Erwina, oder Zauber, Minne und Mutterliebe is a German translation of one of the Contes gothiques. The hero of the story is the knight, Athulph, who falls in love with Erwina, daughter of a sorceress. Athulph's mother tells him that the sorceress is in league with the devil, and will not permit him to marry Erwina. The sorceress is able to make roses grow in the snow, erect castles over night, disappear suddenly into thin air, and do many other wonderful things. She renounces her magical powers, however, to further the happiness of her daughter. The narrative has a medieval setting, but everything seems fantastic and unreal. It has the charming lilt of a real fairy-tale, and seems closely akin to such stories as Naubert's Velleda or Gleich's Jetta, die Zauberin.

The French tale of terror introduced nothing new to the genre, but was merely a replica of German and English products.

Miss Killen has classified François Ducray-Duminil as the author of tales of terror in the style of Anne Radcliffe, but in reality,

the mysterious or apparently supernatural occurred very rarely in his works. The only motifs he used characteristic of the tale of terror, were the unknown identity of hero or heroine, imprisonment of wife by a cruel husband, and occasionally descriptions of Gothic ruins. Any of these motifs could have come from German as well as from English sources. We have seen that Victor ou l'enfant de la forêt (1796) was primarily the result of the contemporary German robber-novel. Coelina ou l'enfant du mystère (1798) is an exceedingly rational narrative about a girl cast out by her friends when the secret of her birth is discovered. Coelina's mother is imprisoned for years in the subterranean vaults of an old castle. At first the reader is led to believe that the ruins are inhabited by a real ghost. Ducray-Duminil did not indulge, however, in the habit of building up and maintaining suspense. He seldom included descriptions of Gothic castles. In Paul ou la ferme abandonnée (1799), he says that the castle belonging to one of the characters has no significance. He is content to let other novelists portray scenes of Gothic ruin.3

The influence of the German tale of terror was reflected not only in its effect upon French and English literature, but also in the appropriation of many of its conventional motifs by the romanticists. E. T. A. Hoffmann's Elixiere des Teufels (1816) was manifestly inspired by products of the terror school. The idea of a double existence was the basic motif. In it we find other motifs, such as incest, a wicked monk, supernatural apparitions, and the clixir of life, which were universally present in the tale of terror. Hoffmann was fond of Gramer's novels when he was a youth, and he was probably familiar with the works of other novelists of the period. The short preface of Elixiere des Teufels states that the material for the narrative was found in an old manuscript preserved in a Capuchin monastery. Certainly Hoffmann borrowed this device from his predecessors. Grillparser

l'Alice Killen, Le roman "terrifiant" ou roman "noir" de Walpole a Anne Radcliffe et son influence sur la littérature française jusqu'en 1840 (Paris, 1915), p. 131.

²F. Ducray-Duminil, <u>Cölina oder das Kind des Geheimnisses</u>, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1800), II, 248.

³F. Ducray-Duminil, <u>Paul oder der verlassene Meierhof</u>, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1803), I, 235.

^{*}Max Pirker, "E. T. A. Hoffmann im persönlichen und brieflichen Verkehr," <u>Euphorion</u>, XXI (1914), pp. 396-411.

was also indebted to the horrific school. The plot of his Ahnfrau is a good example of this. August Sauer has pointed out the material Grillparzer took over from the tale of terror. The drama contains the motifs of incest, robbers, a family spectre. and a haunted castle. Klinger's Die Kettenträger is another ghost-haunted narrative. There has been some discussion as to whether Klinger is the real author, but, in any event, the novel shows the influence of the tale of terror. 2 Ludwig Tieck had little praise for such authors as Cramer or Zschokke, but at the beginning of his career, he himself tried his hand at this "popular" fiction. Tieck completed Rambach's Die eiserne Maske, ein Schauerroman (1792). The style used by Tieck in some of his dramas reminds us of the exaggerated language and diction of the foregoing novels. An example is found in Kaiser Octavianus, where the hero says that he would like to drown in his tears: "Den Fluten gleich, die Dämme und Häuser niederstürzen, erfliessen sie aus seinem vollgepressten Busen. *3 The Märchen of Tieck and Movalis are faintly reminiscent of the supernatural tales of Naubert. Naubert's stories contain no metaphysical element, whereas those of the romanticists are just as fantastic, but have no philosophical implications.

The influence of the school of terror, initiated by such authors as Spiess, Cramer, Zschokke, and Vulpius, continued far into the nineteenth century. As late as the forties, novels of the terror type were being written. Complete new editions of earlier authors were published, especially by the firm of Friedrich Fürst in Nordhausen. Gottfried Basse in Quedlinburg was also responsible for the continued appearance of chivalric romances, robber novels, and tales of terror. Mass production did not wane until 1845. Even today, the tale of terror survives in the type of fiction that is to be found in drug-store loan libraries. Sensational events, problems of mysterious identity, and the supernatural will probably continue to hold a strong attraction for fiction readers. Until this interest ceases to exist, we shall always have the tale of terror.

¹ Grillparzers sämtliche Werke, ed. A. Sauer. See Introduction.

²Hanna Hellmann, "Der Kettenträger, ein Roman von Klinger," <u>Euphorion</u>, XXIV (1922), pp. 570-75.

Miller-Fraureuth, p. 90.

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Articles

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- . "Eine neue Quelle fur Lewis 'Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, CIV (1900), 310-312.
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APPENDIX

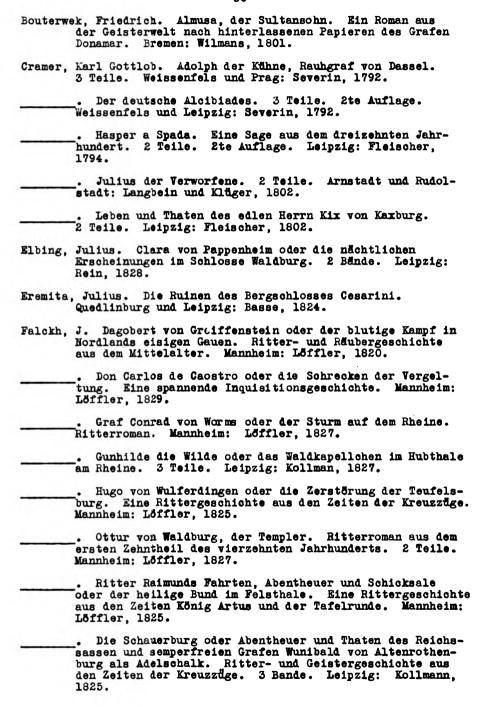
Robber Novels, Chivalric Romances, and Tales of Terror in The Lincke Collection

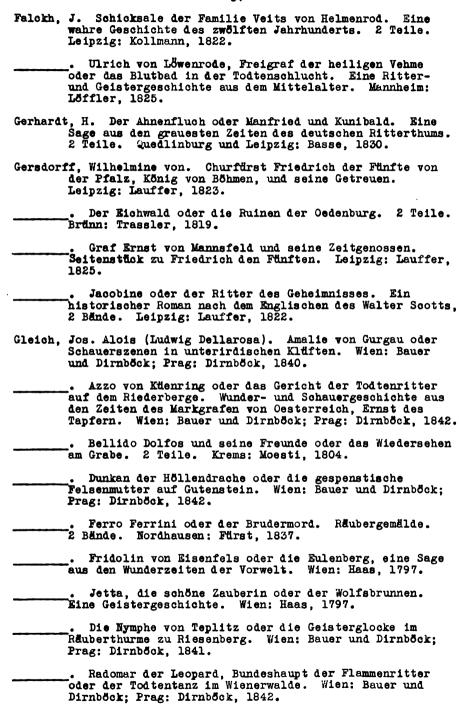
The Lincke Collection is a Leipzig loan-library purchased by the University of Chicago. It contains eighteen thousand volumes of sub-literary fiction of the period from 1785 to 1850. The library includes approximately four-hundred robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror, which are the works of German authors and translations of foreign novels. The following is a bibliography of these novels. The titles marked with an asterisk are of books used for the dissertation, but which do not belong to the collection.

Novels by German Authors

Ahlefeld, Charlotte von. Der Bote von Jerusalem. Ein Ritter- roman. Altona: Hammerich, 1821.
Der Mohrenknabe oder die Wallfahrt nach dem Montserrak. Altona: Hammerich, 1821.
Die Sicilianerin oder das Liebespfand. Eine roman- tische Erzählung aus der Ritterzeit. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
Albiny, J. Heinrich von Lindenhorst oder die erfüllte Wahrsagung. Ritter-, Pfaffen-, und Geistergeschichte. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
Eifersucht. Das Strafgericht und der Reinsteiner. Rittergeschichten aus dem Mittelalter. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
. Marko oder das Opfer der Treue. Romantische Geschichte aus dem Mittelalter. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
Der Zwerg vom Berge oder die Spukgeister im Zauber- schlosse. Eine nordische Sage aus der Vorzeit. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
Albrecht, Karl (Theophil Albrecht Heidemann). Bilder der Vorwelt. Leipzig: Schwickert, 1796.
. Maria de Lucca, Edle von Parma, Ein Opfer der Inquisi- tion. 2 Teile. Altona: Bechtold, 1801.
Trümmer der Vergangenheit aus ihren Ruinen ans Licht gebracht. Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796.
Alvensleben, L. von. Der Geisterjäger von der O'Hara Familie. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kayser, 1833.
Aniello, Sebastien. Burg Löwenstein oder der Sturz der Bundes- ritter von der eisernen Krone. Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Vehme. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828.
. Carlo Endimiro oder die furchtbaren Seeräuber auf dem mittelländischen Meere und in den afrikanischen Gewässern. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
Prinz Hussein, der Gefesselte oder die furchtbare Türkenschlacht. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.

- Aniello, Sebastien. Rebellino oder die furchtbaren Räuberbanden in den Apenninen und Calabriens Gebirgen. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
- Asch, Ferdinand. Die Nonne. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- Baczko, Indwig von. Geschichte Paolo Pennalosa, eines Klosterbruders oder es wird eine ewige Vergeltung seyn. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1821.
- . Das Kloster zu Vallombroso. 2 Teile. Königsberg: Micolovius. 1805.
- Barda, J. H. (J. H. Boeckel). Carlo von Ortobello oder der furchtbare Bund des unterirdischen Todtengewölbes. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1829.
- . Don Carlo Olivaro, der Gefangene unter Räubern oder Schreckensszenen aus dem Leben des Räuberhauptmanns Morosini. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1834.
- _____. Edmund von Geierstein oder die Rächer im Schauerthale, aus den Zeiten des Vehmgerichts. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
- . Der Findling in der Löwengrube oder die mitternächtliche Schauderthat. Ein historisch-romantische Rittergemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. 4 Bände. Meissen: Goedsche, 1834.
- Bartels, Friedrich. Der Todten-Ritter oder das Bündnis des Brudermörders. Eine Bundesgeschichte. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1832.
- _____. Der geheimnisvolle Unbekannte oder die Brüder von Neapel. Eine Seeräubergeschichte. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837.
- Bertrand, Gottlieb. Das Geheimnis. 2 Teile. Hamburg: Nestler, 1803.
- . Pugatschew, der furchtbare Rebell. 2 Teile. Nölfenbüttel: Albrecht, 1807.
- Berby. 2 Teile. Lüneburg: Wahlstab, 1805.
- . Die wandernde Jungfrau. Ein Seitenstück zum unbekannten Wanderer. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Schröder, 1802.
- Bornschein, J. E. D. Moritz Graf von Portokar oder zwei Jahre aus dem Leben eines Geistersehers. 2 Teile. Meissen: Erbstein, 1800.
- . Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung. Aus den hinterlassenen Papieren der Aebtissin des Klosters zu Marienzelle. 2 Teile. 3te Auflage. Erfurt: Müller, 1816.

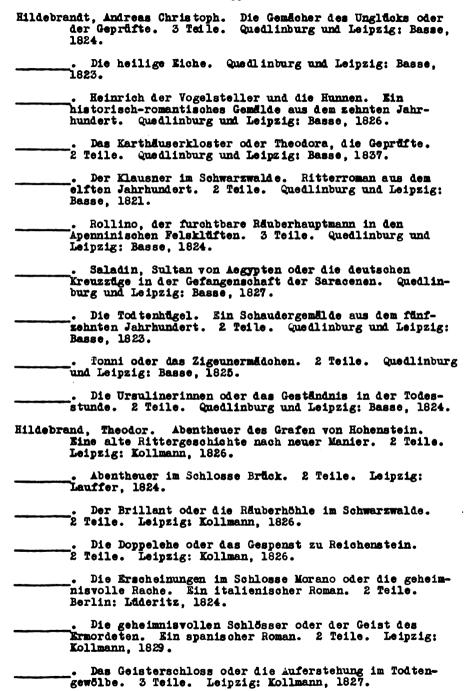




Gleich, Jos. Alois (Ludwig Dellarosa). Die versteinerten Schwestern oder das schwarze Gespenst auf dem Bergschlosse Trosky. Wien: 1843. Günther, Florian. Aniello, der Bund des Ringes oder der blonde Bandit. Berlin: Lideritz, 1826. Haberlin, Karl L. (Christian Mandien, Niedmann und Niemand). Gundobald oder die Rächer mit den schwarzen Waffen. Rittergemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge und des Vehmgerichts. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825. Die Kaisermörder. Historisches und romantisches Gemälde aus dem Anfange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826. Hall, J. van der. Ritter Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze oder die Waldenser in Frankreich im zwölften Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Meissen: Goedsche, 1827. . Ritter Trautwangen oder die Zigeuner in Deutschland zur Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. 2 Teile. Meissen: Goedsche, 1827. Hildebrandt, Andreas Christoph. Agatha oder der Eidschwur. Eine Klostergeschichte. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825. Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Felskluft. Ritter- und Geistergeschichte. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823. Berthold von der Nidda oder die Horde im Schwarzwalde. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollman, 1826. . Brömser von Rüdesheim oder die Todtenmahnung. Ritterroman aus dem zwolften Jahrhundert. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820. Die Burg Helfenstein oder das feurige Racheschwerdt. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819. . Fedor und Athanasia oder die Schreckensnächte in den Qualgefängnissen der sieben Thürme zu Constantinopel. Ein Schaudergemälde aus dem gegenwärtigen Freiheitskriege der Griechen. 4 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822. . Fürst Scanderbeg, der Unüberwindliche, oder der furchtbare Aufstand der Albanier gegen den Sultan Amureth. Ein Gräuel- und Schreckensgemälde aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828. Die Geheimen des Bundes. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.

Die Geister der Schauerhöhle oder das Wunderblümchen.

Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.

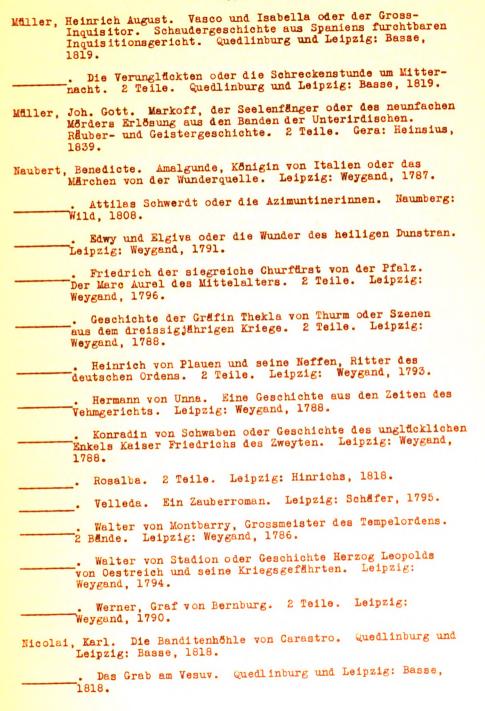


Hildebra	nd, Theodor. Marie oder das eifersächtige Gespenst. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827.
	. Mord und Rache oder das blutige Haupt des Brautvater; als Hochzeitgeschenk. Ein Roman aus den Ritterzeiten. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1825.
	. Der Nebenbuhler oder die Schrecken im Schaudergewölbe. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.
	. Das unterirdische Felsengemach oder die Männer des Schreckens. 2 Teile. Berlin: Lüderitz, 1827.
	. Der Vampyr oder die Todtenbraut. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1828.
Jördens,	Gustav. Lanzelot vom See. Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Tafelrunde. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1822.
Kronhelm	, H. Alarcos und Zeduny oder die Grotte im Thale von Kythära. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Glück, 1830.
	. Fugaçe oder die Abentheuer im Schlosse Sarviedro. Eine romantische Räubergeschichte. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1827.
	. Palma, ein romantisches Gemälde der Vorzeit. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1826.
	. Schloss Glenton oder die Söhne der Nacht. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1827.
Leibrock	, August. Gonzalvo, Räuber und Zeitgenosse Aranzos. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1820.
	. Hakkam. Historisches Schaudergemälde aus den Zeiten der Mauren in Spanien. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1821.
	. Marmorino, der edle Bandit. Eine abentheuerliche Geschichte. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827.
	. Quorato Orsini, der grosse Räuberhauptmann. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.
	. Ritter Wolf oder Brudermord und Rache. Eine Ritter- geschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1835.
	. Die verrufene Kloster-Ruine in Valencia. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1842.
Lindau,	Wilhelm Adolf. Die Gefangenen. Rodrigo und Nunila. Zwei Rittergeschichten und eine Novelle, die Einsiedlerin. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1812.
	. Die weisse Frau. Eine Geschichte aus der Ritterzeit, nach dem Französischen. 3 Bande. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1811.

- Warsch, Emanuel. Der Thurm zu Raucheneck oder der Talisman. Frey nach dem Französischen. Wien und Prag: Haas, 1819.
- Worgenroth, Johann. Peter Graf von Provence oder der Ritter mit den silbernen Schlüsseln. Ein historisches Gemälde aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Leipzig: Sühring. 1829.
- Moser, F. W. Der Kastellan. Geschichte aus dem Mittelalter. 2 Teile. Merseburg: Sonntag, 1823.
- Wählböck, Rudolph. Astro von Sondowall oder die Schauerhöhle. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1841.
- . Gabriele, die Todtenbraut oder das Bekenntnis in der Ahnengruft. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1841.
 - _____. Hadamar von Chuenringen oder die Gründung des Klosters Zwettl in Unterösterreich. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1840.
- . Die Teufelsbrücke bei Zwettl oder Heinrich von Seeburg. 2 Teile. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1840.
- Müller, Gottlieb. Das Alpen-Mädchen oder die wunderbare Leuchte. Wien: Peter Rehms sel. Wittwe. 1804.
- Müller, Heinrich August. Der Bandit in Rom oder die schreckliche Verwechslung. 3 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820.
 - Benno von Rabeneck oder das warnende Gerippe im
 Brautgemach. Eine Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten
 Jahrhundert. 2 Bände. 2te Auflage. Quedlinburg und
 Leipzig: Basse, 1831.
 - . Das Blutschwerdt auf der Gerosburg oder die strafenden Geister. Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
 - Boja, das schöne Räubermädchen oder der grosse Teufel.

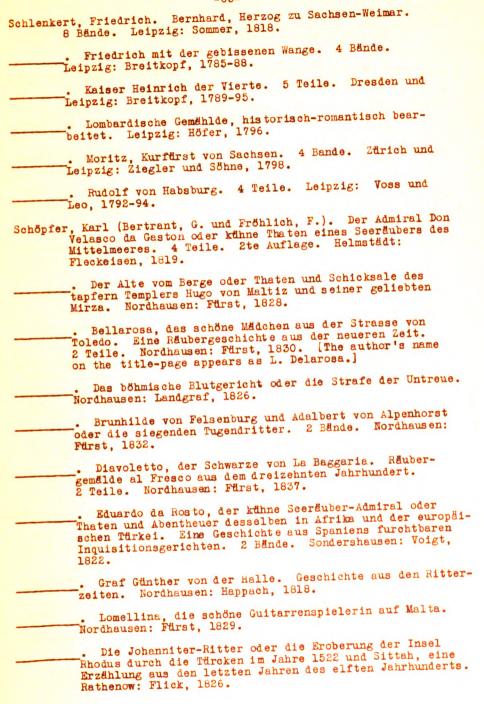
 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- . Die Corsarenbeute oder Fatime. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- . Dedo von Adlerstein, der wilde Ritter oder der Mädchenraub. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
 - _. Don Juan und Diego oder Schicksale zweier Spanier während der letzten Revolutionsepoche. Ein Schauergemälde. Hamburg und Altona: Vollmer, 1810.
 - _. Graf Albert von Reinstein oder das heimliche Gericht der Teufelsmauer. Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Vehme. 3 Bande. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819.
 - __. Der Geächtete oder Pfaffenmord und Rache. Ein Roman aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.

Müller,	Heinrich August. Das Gelübde. Roman aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
•	. Hermann von der Heideburg oder der Eremit in der Waldklause. Rittergeschichte. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.
	. Ina, das geraubte Mädchen aus Algier oder schreckliche Schicksale und Abentheuer eines jungen Spaniers. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1813.
	. Johann von Schwaben oder die Ermordung des Kaisers Albrecht. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1829.
	. Johanna, die Heldin der Bluthochzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
	Julius Wartberg oder die dunkeln Wege des Geschicks. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
	Das Kloster Mariaheim oder Herrmann von Wolfsburg. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
	. Lady Glami oder der Kerker von Stirling. Roman nach Walter Scott. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg: Basse, 1823.
	Die Löwenburg oder die Wunder des Heiligenbildes. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.
	Das Opfer der Rache oder der Giftbecher. Eine Geschichte aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
	Paulowna oder das unglückliche Mädchen im Todtengewölbe unter dem brennenden Moskau. Ein Schaudergemälde. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1817.
	Prinz Clito der Verfolgte oder Bruderkrieg. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826.
	Die Rächenden oder die schwarzen Gemächer des Inquisi- tionskerkers zu Toledo. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
	Ritter Golo, der Grausame oder die Büssende in der Felsengruft. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
	Das Sarazenenschwerdt. Ritterroman aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820.
	Tremnor, der Zerstörer des Druidenreichs. Ein Roman nach Walter Scott von H. M. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
	Udo von Horstenburg oder Vatermord und Rache. Ritter- geschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.



- Wicolai, Karl. Die Riesensteinburg oder Deutsche Frauenwürde.
 Ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde der Vorzeit.
 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1816.
 . Schaudergeschichten. 2 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leip-
- zig: Basse, 1818.
- Obyrn, Amalie von. Theodosia, die Jungfrau und das goldene Kreus. Rittergeschichte. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1832.
- Oefele, Freiherr von. Hermenegild und Ingunde oder die Arianer. Eine gothisch-spanische Legende. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1830.
- dieser Ordensinsel durch die Türken im Jahre 1522.

 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1829.
- . Olga. Ein Roman aus der altrussischen und byzantinischen Vorzeit. Seitenstück zu Walter Scotts Romanen. 5 Teile. Leipzig: Hartmann, 1828.
- Pierre, Jean (Wolfg. Andr. Schöpfel). Die Geburtsstunden der Hölle. Erfurt und Gotha: Hennings, 1802.
- . Die Mitternachtsglocke oder Walther von Windheim.
 Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820.
- Pitt, Friedrich. Der falsche Waldemar oder die Markgrafensteine bei Fürstenwalde. Eine historische Ersählung. Berlin: Oehmig, 1850.
- Potook, J. G. von. Abentheuer in der Sierra Morena. Leipzig: Rein, 1810.
- Prozeltner, C. Z. Der Schutzheilige. 2 Bände. Magdeburg: Creutz, 1826.
- Rauschenbusch, Ernst. Idaline oder das Fest der Einkleidung in der Abtey zu Heiligenstadt. Elberfeld: Büschler, 1818.
- Reinhardt, K. Heinrich. Die Circe von Glas-Llyn. Ein Roman nach Walter Scott. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1822.
- Roos, Richard (Karl Aug. Engelhardt). Dietrich von Harras oder der Rittersprung. Bresden: Arnold, 1822.
- Schilling, Friedrich Gustav. Drako, Dämon der Hölle. Dresden: Arnold, 1811.
- _____. Guido von Sohnsdom. 4 Teile. Freyberg: Croz, 1795.
- _____. Julius. Seitenstück zu Guido von Sohnsdom. 2 Teile. Freyberg: Groz. 1798.
- Schlenkert, Friedrich. Altdeutsche Geschichten romantischen Inhalts. 3 Bände. Zärich: Ziegler und Söhne, 1791.



Schöpfer, Karl (Bertrant, G. und Fröhlich, F.). Konrad von Bärenburg und Adelgunde von Liebenstein oder die heilige Vehme in den Ruinen der Todtenburg. Rittergeschichte. Bordhausen: Landgraf, 1827.
. Der mordlustige Glacco und der edle Räuberhauptmann Ruperto. Eine Räubergeschichte aus den Gebirgen Spaniens. 2 Teile. Bordhausen: Fürst, 1829.
. Rosaline oder das Geheimnis. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1822.
. Die Ruinen von Moncaldo oder Ferragand und seine Ge- nossen. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1826.
. Seltsame Abentheuer des Chevallier Marbon. Eine Räu- bergeschichte aus der neuesten Zeit. Bordhausen: Fürst, 1829.
. Die Stimme des Unsichtbaren oder Geschichte Franziscos, Enkel des ungläcklichen Don Schastian, Königs von Portu- gall. 3 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1822.
Der Thurm von Ruthyna im Lande Wallis. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1824.
. Das wandernde Gerippe. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1821.
Seidel, Karl August. Goldchen oder das Zigeunermüdchen. 2 Bände. Köthen: Aue, 1800-02.
. Andreas Patasch, Zigeuner Hauptmann. 2 Bände. Eöthen: Aue, 1801.
Seute, Dr. Aswin der Kühne oder treue Liebe siegt. Leipzig: Glück, 1830.
Sieboth, C. Auruma die Berg-Fee oder das Kreuz über dem Walde. Eine Geistererzählung mit Volkssagen durchwebt. Hord- hausen: Fürst, 1838.
. Die Siegwarts-Kapelle oder wer versweifelt an seinem Glücke?! Bordhausen: Fürst, 1838.
. Das Waldhuhn oder das Orakel in den Ardennen. 2 Teile. Hordhausen: Fürst, 1837.
Das wilde Ross oder des sürnenden Geschickes Sühne. Eine Rittergeschichte. 2 Bände. Bordhausen: Fürst, 1842.
Sievers, Georg Ludwig. Der Sarg oder die Zwillingsschwestern. 4 Teile. Hamburg und Mains: Vollmer, 1805.
Spiess, Chr. Hein. Der Alte Ueberall und Birgends. Eine Geistergeschichte. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1803. 3te und 4te Teile von K. C. Herschel, Leipzig, 1797.
. Die Berggeister, eine wahre Geschichte. Prag: Barth,

Spiess, Chr. Hein. Die Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier. Eine wahre Zauber- und Geistergeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Leo, 1798-99. Die Löwenritter, eine Geschichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. 4 Teile. Leipzig: Leo, 1794-96. Der Mäusefallen und Hechelkrämer, eine Geschichte sehr wunderbar und doch ganz natürlich. 3te Auflage. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1793. Das Petermännchen. Geistergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. 2te Auflage. Prag und Leipzig: Albrecht und Kompagnie, 1793. 3ter Teil: Mathilde oder der gelöste Zauber von E. Heller, 1801. . Die Reisen und Abentheuer des Ritters Benno von Elsenburg im Jahre 1225. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Voss und Comp, 1795-96. Die Ritter mit dem gäldnen Horn. 2 Teile. Berlin: Lange, 1803. Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen. Eine Geistergeschichte. 4 Bändchen. Nordhausen: Färst, 1840. Spindler, C. Der Vampyr und seine Braut. Nachtstück aus der neuesten Zeit. 2te Auflage. Hanau: Edler, 1832. Spindler, H. Der Geheimnisvolle oder die beiden Verbrechen. Leipzig: Glück, 1830. Sporn, C. Die Herberge zur wilden Bache oder des Meisters Fehlschuss. Eine Räuber- und Wildschützenerzahlung. 2 Bände. Nordhausen: Färst, 1842. Stettner, Joh. Fr. (Ciryllus, Burkhard und Siegmar, Rud.). Albrecht Achilles, Markgraf zu Brandenburg oder ächte Liebe scheut kein Opfer. Nürnberg: Zeh, 1826. Graf Albrecht von Hohenstein oder der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer. Nürnberg: Zeh, 1827. Graf Meinolf von Wildenforst oder das wunderbare Wirken des grauen Mannes auf den Burgen seiner Freunde. 3 Teile. Nurnberg und Leipzig: Zeh, 1824. Moranzo, furchtbares Oberhaupt kühner spanischer Räuber auf dem Lande und zur See. 2 Teile. Nürnberg und Leipzig: Zeh, 1825. Tarnow, Fanny. Heinrich von England und seine Söhne. Eine alte Sage. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1842. Teubner, G. Adolph und Minoa oder die Wallfahrt. Eine Urkunde

aus dem geretteten Archive einer fürstlichen Familie.

Erfurt: Miller, 1810.

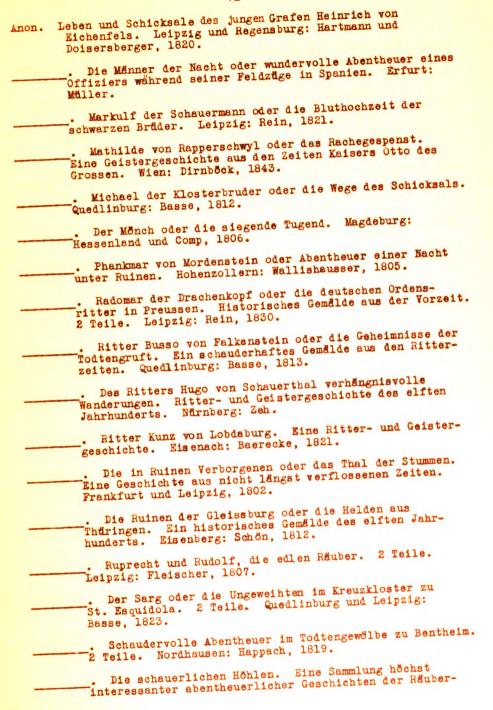
Teutobald (Fr. Aug. Schulze). Die stille Jungfrau. Eine wunderund geheimnisvolle Geschichte. 2 Teile. Dresden: Arnold. 1804. Textor, A. Hermann von der Ettersburg. Eine Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhundert. 3 Bände. Chemnitz: Starke, 1826. Thal, K. von. Gotsche und der Greis des Riesengebirges oder der Kampf um die Herzogstochter. Romantische Geschichte der Vorzeit. Mordhausen: Fürst, 1839. van der Velde, C. F. Guido. Dresden: Arnold, 1825. Die Lichtensteiner. 3te Auflage. Dresden: Arnold. . 1825. _. Der Maltheser. 3te Auflage. Dresden: Arnold, 1825. . Die Patrizier. Dresden; Arnold, 1825. . Die Wiedertäufer. Dresden: Arnold, 1825. Venturini, Karl. Hermann der Sassen Herzog, Deutschlands Rächer und Befreyer. Ein romantisches Bild altdeutscher Freyheit und Mational-Grösse. 2 Teile. Kopenhagen und Leipzig: Schuboth, 1804. Voss, Julius von. Das Geschworenengericht. Berlin: Schüppel, 1828. Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo. Berlin: Schmidts Witwe, 1818. . Der Monnenräuber oder die Abtei St. Glasii in Matolien. 2 Teile. Berlin: Schmidts Witwe, 1818. Das schöne Gespenst in fünfzigjährigen Wirkungen. 2 Bande. Berlin; Schappel, 1820. . Der Schutzgeist. Berlin: Schüppel, 1822. Vulpius, Christian Aug. Der Maltheser. Leipzig: Graff. 1804. . *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann, eine romantische Geschichte unseres Jahrhunderts. 3 Teile. Leipzig, 1798. . Thermitonia, das Buch der Geistereien. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1825. Wallenrodt, Isabelle von. Emma von Ruppin, eine Geschichte voll Leiden, Freuden und Wunder aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Bande. Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1794. . Das Mädchen Wunderhold. Berlin: Brauner, 1810.

> _. Prinz Hassan, der Hochherzige bestraft durch Rache und glücklich durch Liebe. Eine morgenländische Urkunde. Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1796.

- Wangenheim, F. Th. Ritter Homburg von Hils oder Rache und Vergeltung. Historisch-romantisches Gemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1833.
- Weber, Veit (Georg Phil. L. L. Wächter). *Sagen der Vorzeit.
 5 Bände. 2te Auflage. Berlin: Maurer, 1788-95.
 I. Männerschwur und Weibertreue. Der Harfner. Das Ritterwort. 1790. II. Wolf. Das heilige Kleeblatt. Der Müller des Schwarzthals. Der graue Brüder. 1788.
 III. Tugendspiegel. 1790. IV. Die Teufelsbeschwörung. Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht. 1790.
 V. Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht. 1795.
- Werg, August. Gundeberga, Königin der Longobarden oder der Gottesgerichtskampf in Pavja. Eine Erzählung aus dem ersten Drittel des siebenten Jahrhunderts. Berlin: Schmidt, 1827.
- Die Schwäre oder Ritter Färst von Hartenstein. Eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten des Faustrechts. Berlin: Schmidt, 1827.
- Willmar, Wilhelmine. Viole oder das Todtengewölbe. Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1812.
- Woltmann, Karoline von. Die weissen Hüthe. Eine historische Darstellung aus dem Mittelalter. Halberstadt: Vogler, 1822.
- Zschokke, Heinrich. *Abällino, der grosse Bandit. Frankfurt, 1793.
- Die schwarzen Brüder. Eine abentheuerliche Geschichte.

 3 Bände. Leipzig und Frankfurt an der Oder: Apitz, 17911793.
- Die Männer der Finsterniss. Leipzig und Frankfurt an der Oder: Apitz, 1795.
- Anon. Almarich, Herzog von Siebenbürgen oder der Wald bey Hermannstadt. Pest: Hartleben, 1808.
- Bertram und Idda oder Rittersinn und Liebe. Magdeburg: Schütz, 1816.
- . Brunno von Löveneck und Clara von Hundsrück. Eine Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. Nordhausen: Landgraf, 1825.
- . Carlo Cellini oder die Männer der Nacht. Seitenstäck zu Rinaldo Rinaldini. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
 - Don Sancho der Lichtscheue oder der furchtbare nächtliche Abentheuerer. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828.
 - Drahomira mit dem Schlangenringe oder die nächtlichen
 Wanderer in den Schreckensgefängnissen von Karlstein
 bei Prag. Eine Schauergeschichte aus Böhmens grauer

Vorzeit. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1842. [Attributed to Dellarosa.]
Anon. Elwina und Edmund oder Ritter Horst der Vatermörder. Ersählung aus dem swölften Jahrhundert. Berlin: Schmidt, 1826.
. Emmerich, Graf von Tökeli. Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1821.
. Die Geister auf Felsthal oder der Knappe Kuno. Geistergeschichte des clften Jahrhunderts. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1850.
. Die grausigen Schrecknisse der Schlangenburg oder Otelie, die schone Büssende in dem unterirdischen Kerker des Jesuiter-Klosters. Vom Verfasser des Arvonasack. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
Gustav von Bardenstein oder Abentheuer der Liebe. Cassel: Griesbach, 1804.
. Helene oder die wunderbare Erscheinung im Münster zu Strassburg. Ein Roman aus der Vorzeit. 2 Teile. Qued- linburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
. Hermann von Auerberg und sein Schutzgeist. Eine Wundergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. Hordhausen: Fürst, 1839.
. Ida die Fürstenbraut oder die Schauerburg im Banditen- thale. Ein Gemälde der Vorzeit. Leipzig: Central-Comp- toir, 1818.
Josephine die Banditenbraut im Monnenkloster. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1804.
Junker Peter von Quakenbach. Eine Klostergeschichte. Leipzig: Taubert, 1816.
. Kampf und Minne oder romantische Abentheuer aus den Ritterzeiten. 2 Teile. Düsseldorf: Grossherzogliche Hofbushhandlung.
. Kuno von Hartenburg und Adelaide von Staufeneck. Ein Schauergemälde aus der Ritterzeit. Quedlinburg und Leip- zig: Basse, 1826.
. Die Larvenritter, nach einer Sage aus den Zeiten des Hussitenkriegs. Prag: Widtmann, 1799.
. Lauretta oder die Zauberin aus Cypern. Wien: Pichler, 1814.
. Leben der Gräfin Valeria von ***. Eine merkwürdige Abenturiere aus Ungarn. Aus ihrem Machlasse bei ihrer Entweichung aus dem Ursuliner-Kloster zu Et. Erfurt: Henning, 1806.



banden in Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und Spanien. Cassel: Luckhardt, 1826. Die tapferen Maltheserritter oder die Bestürmung Malthas Anon. durch die Türken. Ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826. Der Tempelritter. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Hartmann, 1833. Die Verbündeten von Sankt Martin. Aus Diegos Papieren. Merseburg: Romer, 1829. Die Verschwornen oder die Ruinen der Rothenburg. Ritter- und Räubergeschichte aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821. Die Waffenbrüder oder Freundschaft bis jenseits des Grabes. Höchst abentheuerliche und doch wahre Geschichte. Leipzig: Rein, 1818. Der Waldmann. Ein abentheuerlicher Roman. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Weygand, 1817. . Wanda oder das geheimnisvolle Schloss. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825. . Wanderungen nach dem Schlosse des Schreckens oder die unruhigen Nächte. Wien: Rehms sel. Wittwe, 1803. Das Weib vom Berge oder die Felsenmutter in der Pabd Baba bey Prag. Eine Geistergeschichte. Wien und Prag: Haas. Translations of Foreign Movels

- Brown, Chas. Brockton. Ormond oder der geheime Zeuge. A. d. E. des Godwin frei übers. von Fr. von Oertel. Leipzig: Beygang, 1802.
- Chaussier und Bizet. Das Grab. Ein der Miss Anna Radcliffe zugeschriebener Roman, n. d. Frz. von Friedrich Oertel. Leipzig: Beygang, 1800.
- Cosio, Don Telesforo de Trueba y. Gomez Arias oder die Mauren der Alpujarren. Ein historischer Roman a. d. E. frey fibers. von Gustav Sellen. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Taubert, 1829.
- Cottin, Madame. Mathilde, Geschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge, frei für Deutsche bearbeitet von N. P. Stampiel. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1806.
- Curties, T. J. Horsley. Ethelwine, das Fräulein aus Westmoreland.

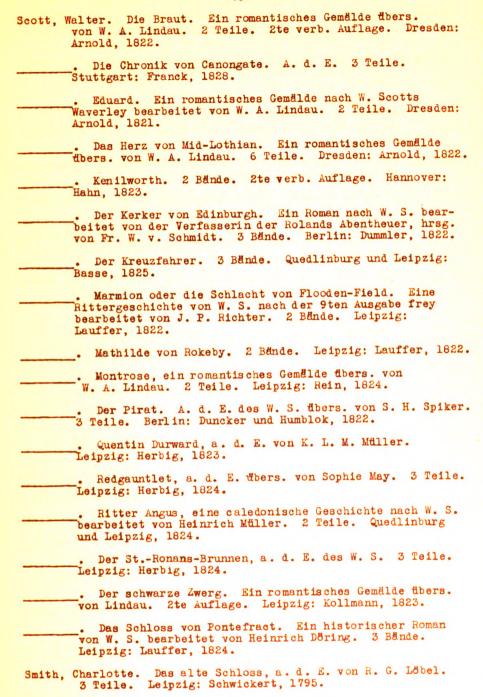
 Eine altbrittische Geschichte a. d. E. übers. von Oertel.
 Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1803.

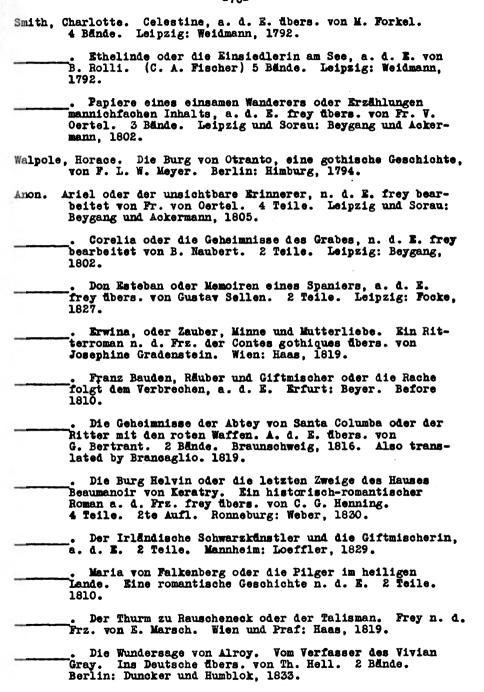
- Ducray-Duminil. Cölina oder das Kind des Geheimnisses. Ein Seitenstück zu Victor, n. d. Frz. des D. -D. 3 Teile. Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1800.
- . Elmonde oder das Kind des Geheimnisses, n. d. Frz. des D. -D. bearbeitet von K. L. M. Müller. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1805.
- _____. Der kleine Glockenspieler. Nach D. -D. bearbeitet von Lindau. 3 Bände. Leipzig; Hinrichs. 1810.
- . Victor oder der Sohn des Waldes, n. d. Frz. des Herrn D. -D. von Fr. von Oertel. Leipzig: Beygang, 1798.
- Genlis, Gräfin von. Alphonsine oder der Zögling unterirdischer Liebe, für Deutsche bearbeitet von K. L. M. Müller. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1806.
 - . Die Battuecas oder das stille Thal in Spanien, n. d. Frz. der Gr. von Genlis von Theodor Hell. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1817.
- . Die Schwanenritter, eine Kunde der Vorwelt. 4 Teile. Hamburg: Fauche, 1796.
- Godwin, William. Gemählde nach dem Leben, oder Begebenheiten Caleb Williams von Wm. Godwin. Nach der zweiten, verbesserten Ausgabe a. d. E. übers. von Aug. Wilhelmi. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Sommer, 1797-98.
- Helme, Elisabeth. St. Clair, der Eiländer oder die Geächteten von Barra. Eine schottische Sage a. d. E. der E. H. 2 Teile. Magdeburg: Heinrichshafen, 1811.
- Hervey, Elizabeth. Die heilige Sanct-Siegfriedskirche, nach der 12ten Ausgabe a. d. E. übers. von Kleffel. 5 Bände. Leipzig: Rein, 1801-02.
- Houghton, Miss. Die feindlichen Stammhäupter oder Liebe und Ritterthum, n. d. E. der Miss Houghton. 2 Teile. Jena: Schmid und Comp. 1817.
- Lathom, Francis. Die Mitternachtsglocks. Eine romantische Geschichte vom Verfasser des Mönchs, a. d. E. 2 Bände. Erfurt: Beyer und Maring, 1800.
- Lewis, Matthew Gregory. Der Mönch, a. d. E. übers. von F. von Oertel. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Beygang, 1797.
- Manzoni, Alessandro. Giovanni Rosinis Nonne von Manzoni. Fortsetzung der Verlobten von A. Manzoni, übers. von D. Lessmann. 2 Teile. Berlin: 1830.
- Morani, Giovanni. Thanatos und Valdea oder Zaubermacht und Liebe. Romantische Räubergeschichte. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1828.
- Morgan, Lady. Die Prinzessin oder die Beguine. Roman von L. Morgan, a. d. E. von Dr. P. Helling. 2 Bände. Aachen und Leipzig: Meyer, 1835.

Morgan, Lady. Die Prophetin von Caschimit oder Glaubenskraft und Liebesglut nach Lady Morgan von Fanny Tarnow. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1826. Mortonval. Der Mönch und die Dame. Nach Mortonval: Le Capucin du Marais von L. Kruse. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann. 1834. Don Pedros Rache. Eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten Pedros des Grausamen. Nach Mortonvals Martin Gil. a. d. Frz. übers. von L. Kruse. 4 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann. 1833. Modier, Charles. Adele oder das grausame Verhängnis. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823. _. Die Blutsauger. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse. 1821. Lothario oder die Brüder des Bundes zum Gemeinwohl. Räubergeschichte, nach der zweiten verbesserten Ausgabe des franz. Originals bearbeitet von Gustav Jördens. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1823. Porter, Anna Maria. Der Kreuzesritter oder Don Sebastian, König von Portugal. Ein historischer Ritterroman, hrsg. von Wilhelmine v. Gersdorf. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1822. . Ritter Ademar von Bourbon oder die Bewohner des weissen Felsen. Nach Anna Porter frei bearbeitet von Wilhelmine v. Gersdorf. Ein Seitenstück zu dem Ritter der rothen Rose. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1823. Radcliffe, Anne. Die nächtliche Erscheinung im Schlosse Mazzini, a. d. E. von Liebeskind. 2te Auflage. Hannover: Ritscher, 1798. Roche, Regina Maria. Die Erben, n. d. E. frey bearbeitet von L. Huber. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1803. Die Kapelle des alten Schlosses von Saint-Doulagh oder die Banditen von Newgate, a. d. E. übers. von Heinrich Müller. 4 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827. Der Machtbesuch, n. d. E. von Fr. v. Oertel. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1802. Regnault-Warin. Spinalba oder Offenbarungen aus dem Rosenkreuzerorden, a. d. Frz. bearbeitet und abgekürzt von Fr. v. Oertel. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Beygang, 1804. Scott, Walter. Der Abt. Ein romantisches Gemälde von W. S.

dbers. von W. A. Lindau. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1821.

Legende aus den Kriegen des Montrose, a. d. E. des W. S. dbers. von Sophie May. 2 Teile. Berlin: Nauck, 1821.





even placed him above Hagedorn: "Herr von Hagedorn ist nicht so tief in Anakreons Fusstapfen getreten, als Herr Gleim, der desfalls unvergleichlich ist." Nevertheless he pleads for the Minnesingers; for if one only masters the old language, their poems will afford to the reader no less pleasure than Hagedorn's and Gleim's works. ("Nach allen den Vortrefflichkeiten, die in Hagedorns und Gleims Liedern hervorleuchten, lassen sich nichts desto weniger unsere Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Jahrhundert mit Lust und Vergnügen lesen, dafern man nur die alte Sprache in seiner Gewalt hat.")

The whole manuscript was copied before September 12, 1747 and now arose the difficulty of getting a publisher at a reasonable cost. First the Swiss thought of engaging Breitkopf, 1) with the condition that he would finish the print at Zürich under their supervision. Gleim was asked to assist in finding a publisher, as appears from his letter to Kleist, Oct. 1, 1747: "Er (Bodmer) hat nunmehr das Volumen alter schwäbischer Lieder aus der Pariser Bibliothek erhalten und will es drucken lassen und hat mich ersucht, einen Verleger zu schaffen, der damit zufrieden ist, dass das Werk in Zürch gedruckt werde." At the same time Bodmer negotiated with two other foreign publishers, Haude and Ruediger, offering them the most favorable conditions. 3)

Bodmer was well aware of the fact that the public would not receive the old poets very enthusiastically, because they had come into ill repute through the confusion of the terms Minnesingers and Mastersingers. ("Diese alten Poeten, die unter dem Namen der Meistersinger noch so übel berüchtigt sind.") This and the difficulty in finding a publisher induced him to give a few specimens first. ("Mit Gelegenheit ein Specimen von dem Inhalt": to Lange, Sept. 12, 1747. "Wir sind bedacht, eine kleine Probe zu liefern": to Gleim, Sept. 12, 1747.) In order to facilitate the reading he planned to add grammatical notes and a small glossary.

¹⁾ To Lange, Sept. 12, 1747.

²⁾ Letter to Gleim, Sept. 12, 1747.

("Ein Paar Dutzend grammatikalischer Beobachtungen und ein kleines Glossarium.")

Gleim was initiated into all the details of these plans, because Bodmer found in him a spirit kindred to the Minnesingers. ("Dass Sie an dem Schicksale der Minnesinger Antheil nehmen; und wie sollten Sie nicht Antheil daran nehmen, da zwischen Ihrem und jenem Geiste eine solche Sympathie ist.") This confidence and the praise which Bodmer gave to his imitations of Anacreon, highly flattered Gleim's ambition. He therefore never grew weary of recommending his critic's efforts to his numerous friends, advertising well in this manner the cause of the Minnesingers. Dodmer too kept Gleim's interest alive by forwarding to him his own critical products and some Lieder der Minnesinger in dem Anfang einer allegorischen Erzählung.

Bodmer's letter of December 1747 announced the prospective publication of the *Proben* on Easter 1748, but also pointed out how delicate a task it would be to translate the originals without discolouring them. ("Auf Ostern sollen Sie eine Probe aus den Minnesingern sehen. Auch die Frauenspersonen sollen sie mittelst einer kleinen Mühe verstehen können, ohne dass wir sie übersetzen, welches sie allzu übel verstellen würde.")

In 1747, Gleim's years of apprenticeship and travel drew to a close: he was appointed secretary of the chapter of the cathedral at Halberstadt. In fact his trials had been severe and he took comfort in Bodmer's sympathy. Bodmer') repeatedly gave expression to his regret that Gleim could not devote his full time and energy to poetry ("Welche Sünde, dass sein Glück so lange verzögert") and b) gave vent to his feelings in a poetical lament over Gleim's misfortune, complaining, that "Gleim unbefördert lebt mit tausend Gönnern".

Now his joy over Gleim's appointment was boundless. When

¹⁾ Cp. letter to Kleist, Oct. 1, 1747; to Uz, Oct. 24, 1747.

²⁾ In his letters to Lange of June 13, and September 12, 1747.

³⁾ In the letter to Sulzer of Sept. 12.

Hirzel, himself beaming with joy, brought him the glad news, Bodmer, although clad in his official robes, could hardly refrain from dancing a minuet with a young lady who was present. Then he thought of lighting a bonfire which, as his house stood on the Zürich mountain, would signal the joyous tidings throughout the valley. These and other droll ideas ran through his mind, until the memory of Kleist's uncertain fate in war brought him back to reason. 1)

In spite of these effusions Gleim's enthusiasm for Bodmer gradually cooled. The first sign of disapproval is noticeable in a letter to Uz of January 31, 1748. Gleim was not satisfied with Bodmer's translation of Pope's Dunciade, for, he said, "Herr Bodmer hätte etwas geschmeidiger übersetzen und viel dunckle Stellen ... erläutern sollen". The true cause for his estrangement, however, lay much deeper, and was founded on Gleim's gentle character and his love for universal peace. He did not wish to become embroiled in the struggle between the Swiss and Gottsched, which would have been the inevitable consequence of an intimate friendship with Bodmer. Although siding with the former, Gleim preferred to serve the cause of "good taste" indirectly through his poetical products. Gottsched was repulsive to him on account of his dictatorial conceit, but on the other hand he abhorred the violence of the Swiss invectives and tried to prevent his friends from siding with either party. Gleim had some trouble to ward off the numerous and fervid appeals Bodmer issued, but he remained unpartisan even at the risk of being accused of double-dealing. His point of view is well reflected in his letter to Uz of March 6, 1746: (Lange) will sich muthwillig in den Streit der Schweitzer und Leipziger mischen, womit ich nichts zu thun haben mag. Was hat man für Vergnügen von so groben Zänkereyen, und welchen Nutzen! Ein Gedicht von gutem Geschmack, stiftet mehr gutes, als hundert bittere critische Scheltschriften. Wozu soll man von neuem anfangen? Herr Bodmer hat mir geschrieben, dass er von



¹⁾ Letter of Dec. 1747; corroborated by Sulzer's letter to Gleim of March 30, 1748.

mir die Verteidigung der Wahrheit und des guten Geschmacks erwarte, 1) aber ich werde sie nicht anders auf mich nehmen, als was durch meine geringe Ausarbeitungen per indirectum geschehen kann. — Ich gestehe es, ich habe einen Abscheu vor den gelehrten Kriegen, wie vor denen, in welchen statt der Dinte, Blut vergossen wird, und überdem verbietet mir die Besorgung meines künftigen Glückes, mich in Weitläuftigkeiten einzulassen. Ich will mein Leben ruhig beschliessen, darum muss ich vermeiden, was meine Ruhe im geringsten stören kann. Ich schreibe nur zu meinem Vergnügen und für meine Freunde; was kann ich wichtiges schreiben? Die Begierde nach Ruhm ist bey mir sehr geringe, sie verleitet mich nicht zu der geringsten Ausschweifung, noch zu der kleinsten Mühe." And again in the Lieder. Frui paratis. 1749. Vorzüge der Klugheit, Gleim offers a strophy that gives poetical expression to his position:

"Herr Bodmer führt gelehrte Kriege; O warum führt er sie? Denn durch noch tausend seiner Siege Bezwingt er doch die Dummheit nie."

Gleim rebuked the Swiss for the keen sarcasm of their polemical treatises and for their inconsiderate manner toward Frau Gottsched, and qualified their polemical treatises in the following words: "Es ist nicht die geringste politesse beobachtet. Die Grobheit stiftet nie was gutes, und wird das Aufnehmen des Geschmacks nicht befördern. Insbesondere billige ich nicht, dass man der Frau Kulmus mit so wenig Achtsamkeit für ihr Geschlecht begegnet." Again Gleim expressed his dissatisfaction with Bodmer in a letter to Uz of March 9, 1748, because the former continued manifesting his old spite against Gottsched in most violent satires, and although Gleim was inclined to forgive him many extravagances, on account of his sincere enthusiasm for poetry ("weil er mit viel Enthusiasterey für seine Poesie streitet"), yet he dropped Bodmer's name in his correspondence with Uz for several years. Bodmer

¹⁾ Cp. Bodmer's letter to Gleim of July 11, 1745.

himself could not help noticing Gleim's growing indifference and did not hesitate to tell him so: "Es fehlt nicht viel, so gereuet mich meine Freude über Ihre Beförderung. Die Musen scheinen damit wenig gewonnen zu haben: Dass Gleim befördert lebt, der hundert Freunde hat." At the same time he presented to him a copy of the Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des 13. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Manessischen Sammlung. Zürich 1748. This letter of September 11 marks the close of the first period in the friendly relations between Gleim and Bodmer, which was effected by the interference of a third person, whose name is mentioned in the same letter, Klopstock.

Klopstock's *Messiah* was first understood in its full significance by Bodmer: "Ich könnte Ihnen den Namen melden, der itzt noch so dunkel und so schwer auszusprechen ist, der doch in die späteste Nachwelt erschallen soll." Through him, Gleim's attention was drawn to this rising star, for Oct. 24, 1747 he announced to Uz that Bodmer was full of praise of the second book of an epic poem, *Messiah*, written by a "Milton" that lived at Leipzig.. Klopstock began the correspondence with Bodmer on the 10th of August 1748, and informed him of his love for Fanny. Bodmer immediately advised her to look kindly upon the poet, in an extravagant letter which Klopstock thought better to withhold. The platonic and sober minded Bodmer was not capable of comprehending the young poet's fervent love, and the latter had such a strong influence over his protector, that Bodmer, too, became an epic poet in his "Noah".

Gleim's acquaintance with Klopstock dates from the spring of 1749. Koerte's statement that Gleim was first introduced to Klopstock in the spring of 1750 on his journey via Langensalza to Leipzig¹) is to be corrected. For June 6, 1749, Klopstock wrote to Bodmer: "We (Klopstock and Klamer Schmidt) have been at Gleim's house." He put himself into literary relation to Gleim and qualified the latter's dubious literary position, saying jokingly:

¹⁾ Gleim's Leben, p. 57.

"Gleimen und mir ist Schuld gegeben worden, wir wären die verlorenen Schildwachen des guten Geschmackes, oder nach Gottsched's Ausspruche die poetischen Herrenhuter, weil die dem Blocksberge so nahe wohnten.¹) Gleim, sagte man, wohne am nächsten und könnte wohl gar, wenn die Gefahr gross würde, ein Überläufer werden."

In spite of Gleim's irresolution, Bodmer appealed to him to do his share in securing a position free from care for the author of the *Messiah*, whom he compared to Mallet, Pope, Milton, the prophets and Pindar all at one time, because otherwise it was to be feared, that the Messiah would remain a fragment. ("Dass der Messias in der Krippe liegen bleibe, oder dem mörderischen Herodes [Gottsched] in die Hände falle, wenn sein Poet nicht in glücklichere Umstände gesetzt, oder ihm wenigstens ein schmeichelnder Aspect der Sterne vom Weiten gezeigt wird.") Gleim now secretly conceived the plan of attaching Klopstock for ever to Halberstadt through the attraction of Fanny and her brother, and, for a time, it seemed as if Klopstock would accept a prebend that Gleim had procured for him.

After the very enthusiastic letters that Klopstock exchanged with Bodmer after his invitation to visit the latter at Zürich, it is not surprising that, when they met on June 23, 1750, their mutual expectations were not fully satisfied. Klopstock's dignified, noble, gentlemanly manners strangely contrasted with Bodmer's timidity, pedantry and lack of moderation in speech and behaviour. The strange contrast between his own inflexible selfconsciousness and Bodmer's goodnatured naïve conceit, naturally drove him to seek the company of younger men. Bodmer gave expression to his great disappointment in a letter to Zellweger, Sept. 5, in which he describes Klopstock smoking, drinking wine, flirting with the girls and sleeping till late in the morning. When Klopstock went so far as to take quarters outside of Bodmer's house, Bodmer recalled a small sum of money which he had lent him, and they came to an open rupture. Now Klopstock's pride was hurt; he

¹⁾ Klopstock and his parents then lived at Quedlinburg.

unmercifully exposed his friend's unfriendly suspicions and his petty, often very ignoble mockeries, altogether disputing his magnanimity.

Gleim closely followed the development of the Zürich events and, from the beginning, sided with Klopstock. Yet he was sorry to see any disagreement between two men of such great literary merits. Klopstock himself informed him of the approaching storm. Oct. 8 he wrote: "Bodmer — ich will noch gegen Sie, mein Gleim! schweigen; Ich habe mir in Betrachtung seiner ein System von Grossmuth gemacht, von dem ich, wenn ich nicht auf's Äusserste getrieben werde, nicht abgehn will." These lines are clearly echoed in Gleim's letter to Kleist, and there is little doubt that we can date this letter¹) a few days after Oct. 8, 1750. Gleim refers to Klopstock's letter, saying: "Es ist mir ordentlich abscheulich, zu denken, dass es möglich ist, dass Bodmer und Klopstock Feinde werden können, vielleicht um der geringsten Kleinigkeit willen. — Mich dünkt, Bodmer sei allzu kunstrichterisch in seinem Umgange." Gleim learned the full particulars of the quarrel through Sulzer's letters of Sept. 26 and Nov. 6, 1750, which are not reprinted in Koerte's collection and are bound in Manuscript 6 of the Gleim Archives. Klopstock himself gave Gleim his view on Bodmer's attitude, January 15, 1751: "Sie werden bei meinen Eltern einen Brief an Bodmer finden, und zugleich die Ursachen warum der Brief nicht an Bodmer selbst überschickt ist, erfahren. Sie werden mit mir die Anmerkung machen, dass er nicht einmal ein edelmütiger Feind zu sein weiss. Wenn wir einander wieder sehen, wollen wir weitläufiger darüber reden, dass ich einen nicht geringen Theil meines Lebens damit zubringen musste, meine liebsten Freunde zu verlassen, eine weite Reise zu thun, um einen andern, von dem wir glaubten, dass er ein Freund, wie wir, seyn konnte, aufzudecken. "2) Sulzer, of course, had

¹⁾ Cp. Ew. v. Kleist's Werke ed. August Sauer, vol. III p. 322—23. Sauer dates it "Ende September oder Anf. October 1750".

³⁾ Cp. also Klamer Schmidt, Klopstock und Seine Freunde I, p. 256/7.
Concerning the controversy between Klopstock and Bodmer, the Halberstadt
Archives contain the following manuscripts:

considerable interest in winning Gleim over to Bodmer's side, but Gleim impartially and without reserve offered his opinion in the letter to Sulzer of Dec. 16, 1750. His letter is preserved in MS. vol. 77 part 4 of the Gleim Archives, but not used in Klamer Schmidt's collection of documents, *Klopstock und Seine Freunde*. We reprint it as a document valuable for Gleim's relation to Bodmer and Klopstock. Gleim's determined attitude in this particular warrants its publication:

"Wegen Klopstocks und Bodmers muss ich Ihnen sagen, dass Sie nicht befürchten dürfen, dass ich aus dem, was ich weiss, Bodmern zum Nachtheil urtheilen werde. Ich weiss eigentlich nichts, als was Sie mir gesagt haben, und alles das halt' ich nur noch nicht für hinlänglich, so hart von Klopstocken zu urteilen, als Sie thun, indem Sie ihm nur die Ehre eines Poeten übrig lassen. Wenn ich aber auch alles wüsste, was Ihnen bekannt seyn mag, so würd' ich doch noch, behutsam zu seyn für meine Pflicht halten. Mir hat Klopstock nichts Bodmern nachtheiliges geschrieben, sondern nur: von Bodmern will ich auch gegen Sie, mein Gleim, schweigen. Gegen seinen Vater hat er sich auch nicht herausgelassen. Gegen Cramern auch nicht. Da ich bey

^{1.} MS. no. 165. Klamer Schmidt remarks on the titlepage in his own handwriting: "von diesem Brief-Manuscript habe ich so wenig in Klopstock und seine Freunde, als sonst irgendwo Gebrauch gemacht. Vergl. Vorrede zu Kl. u. s. Fr. p. XI. Halberstadt, d. 4. Januar 1813. Klamer Schmidt."

^{2.} MS. no. 77, part. 4. Here Klamer Schmidt also states: "Aus diesem Mscpt. sind nur Nr. 5 und 6 in *Klopstock und S. Freunde*, jedoch mit Weglassung einiger uninteressanter Stellen mit aufgenommen. Halberstadt, den 4. Januar 1811. Klamer Schmidt."

No. 5 is a letter of Klopstock to Schmidt, Winterthur, Aug. 1, 1750.

No. 6 Schmidt to Klopstock, no date.

No. 1—5 in MS. 77 are equal to no. 1—5 in MS. 165, and consist of letters of: Gleim to Sulzer, Dec. 16, 1750.

Klopstock to Bodmer, Zürich, month of December 1750, both somewhat damaged on the upper margin.

Klopstock to his parents, Zürich, January 13, 1751.

Sack to Klopstock, January 5, 1751.

Schmidten nachgefragt, was ihm von der Uneinigkeit bekannt sey, so antwortet er mir unterm 13ten dieses: Ich weiss nur, dass er seit langer Zeit nicht mehr bey Herrn Bodmern wohnt. Sollt' es möglich seyn, dass einige Verdrüsslichkeit zwischen ihnen beiden Ob ich gleich vergangene Woche einen Brief von ihm bekommen, so schreibt er mir doch nichts ausführliches. nur hab' ich angemerkt, dass er etwas kaltsinniger von dem Bezeigen der Schweizer spricht. Ich weiss keine andere Art, durch die sich Klopstock eines Fehlers schuldig machen könnte, als durch sein zu sicheres und fast unvorsichtiges Vertrauen auf die Vollkommenheit derer, mit denen er umgeht. Ist dies aber nicht eine Eigenschaft, die ihm bey allen Leuten vor der Gefahr, Fehler zu begehen, in Sicherheit setzen sollte? Sie sehen also aus diesen ganz neuen Briefen, dass Klopstock an seine Freunde von Bodmer nicht so geschrieben hat, als er an ihn selbst soll geschrieben haben. Ewig wollt' ich auf Klopstocks grössten Geist Verzicht thun, wenn ich ihn nur mit dem kleinsten Theile eines bösen Herzens Aber wenn sein Vergehen nur ein Mangel guter haben sollte! Sitten wäre, sollte man das nicht auf die Rechnung seiner ganz unerfahrenen Jugend schreiben können? Mich hat geschaudert, da Sie mich haben merken lassen, dass die Uneinigkeit in öffentliche Anklagen ausbrechen könnte. Nach meiner Art zu denken würd' ich mich nicht enthalten können, den an meiner Achtung am meisten verlieren zu lassen, der den Anfang machen würde. Und ich bin gewiss, dass dergleichen Streitigkeiten am Ende allemal beyden Partheyen zu weniger Ehre gereichen. Sie können nicht mehr Hochachtung für Bodmern haben, als ich; könnt' ich aber so viel bey ihm ausrichten, als Sie, so würd' ich, wenn es nur irgend ohne Beleidigung höherer Pflichten geschehen könnte, alles anwenden, die Sänger des Noah und des Messias wieder zu vereinigen. Wie wollt ich mich in mir selbst freuen, wenn ich wüsste, dass ich verhindert hätte, dass ihre Uneinigkeit nicht auf die Nachwelt käme. Gleim."

Sulzer really followed Gleim's advice and, through his inter-Biethmüller, Gleim. 2 vention, brought about the final reconcilation. Hofprediger Sack of Berlin, inspired by Sulzer, urged Klopstock to appease Bodmer's anger, writing him a letter, which Sulzer called "very sharp and very persuasive." (To Gleim, Febr. 25, 1751: "Er schrieb einen scharfen und sehr beweglichen Brief an Klopstock, und ermahnte ihn, Zürich nicht zu verlassen, bis er Bodmer wieder gewonnen hätte.") Klopstock then submitted to offering peace and friendship (Jan. 5, 1751), though he did not take the matter very seriously nor very formally. In the middle of February 1751 he left Zürich, and Sulzer related to Gleim the circumstances of his farewell-visit: "Sie haben sich vorher beide noch als Freunde gesehen; Bodmer schreibt, er habe ihm seinen besten Segen gegeben."

Klopstock's difference with Bodmer also affected Gleim: from 1748-1752 there was a pause of three years in his correspondence with the Swiss patriarch. Bodmer first broke the silence, March 25, 1752, perhaps driven by the impulse to vindicate his former attitude toward the "beloved man who wrote the precious Messiade", perhaps because he wished to show Gleim that all friends had not forsaken him, but that a kind fate had given him the younger second Klopstock", Wieland. Yet he cannot get away from Klopstock and his Messiah, which appeared much too slowly for him and for the rest of his admirers. Gleim was however too much out of tune, so that, for the following years, we have to fill up the gap in his correspondence with Bodmer by his letters to Sulzer and Uz. Even Sulzer is not an entirely reliable and impartial authority and Gleim knew him to be an altogether too blind worshipper of everything that came from Zürich" (to Uz, Sulzer himself proves the truth of Gleim's Aug. 16, 1757). characterisation when he writes to Bodmer (Nov. 11, 1752): "Vergessen Sie in Gesellschaft dieses werthen Jünglings (Wieland) Kl.(opstock), Raml.(er) Gl.(eim) etc., so wie sie schon lange Gottschedens und Schwabens vergassen. Denn so viel diese leztern an Geist und Verstand hinter Ihnen zurück sind, so weit entfernen sich die erstern in der moralischen und philosophischen Art, zu

denken." It harmonises badly with such effusions that Sulzer should try to cultivate Gleim's interest for Bodmer's poetical products, 1) and to ward off the vengeance of the poets whom Bodmer had insulted by his severe criticisms. At all events, Gleim remained indifferent. 2)

It was of little consequence when Gleim broke a lance in the general war against Gottsched by negotiating the print of a very violent polemic of the Swiss: Ankündigung einer Dunciade für die Deutschen, nebst dem verbesserten Herrmann. Sero sapiunt Phryges. Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1755. Yet Sulzer could easily interpret this to Bodmer as a proof of reconciliation, 3) the more so as Gleim was polite enough to send his regards to Bodmer, when in the winter of 1754/55 he was at Berlin on affairs of his chapter, at which time Sulzer watched for an opportunity of turning the conversation upon Bodmer.4) Gleim had only yielded to Gessner's repeated entreaties to lend a helping hand in saving the literary honor of Germany and restoring the "good taste". To such petitions Gleim could hardly turn a deaf ear, yet he tried every possible excuse: his printer, his government and his chapter, all of which sided, so he said, with "the big Dunce". He therefore offered the manuscript of the Ankundigung first to Reich at Leipzig, and then to Lessing, whose acquaintance he had made on his recent visit to Berlin and whose publisher Voss took charge of the print. Bodmer and Wieland were well informed of Gleim's courtesy, b) but their enthusiasm was somewhat cooled by Sulzer's very sceptical account (to Bodmer, April 18, 1755): "Gleim ist sehr hitzig gegen Gottsched, und wenn er den Antrag von Wieland

¹⁾ Such as Noah, cp. letter of June 12, 1752, and the lovestory Joseph und Dina, cp. letter of Oct. 3, 1753.

²⁾ Cp. Sulzer to Bodmer, Nov. 5, 1753.

^{*)} Sulzer to Bodmer, Nov. 30, 1754.

⁴⁾ Cp. Sulzer's letter to Bodmer, dated simply 1754, which according to Sulzer's statement: "Last week Gleim was here" must be set at November 1754.

⁶⁾ Gessner to Gleim, April 5, 1755.

und Gessner (to publish the *Ankündigung*), nicht angenommen, so könnte es wohl daher kommen, weil er gerne will verborgen seyn; denn er hat das Herz nicht, sich öffentlich gegen Gottsched zu erklären. Das Lob eines Gottschedianers ist ihm doch immer angenehm." Nevertheless the Swiss knew very well of Gleim's wide spread literary relations and they did not care to lose his co-operation.

Bodmer had great difficulty in finding a publisher for the newly discovered MHG. epics, because these unpopular publications brought loss rather than profit. He therefore got Gessner to ask Gleim's advice, 1) for he preferred to disregard his personal feelings in behalf of his praiseworthy literary pursuits. Sulzer too used his best endeavours to bring about a final reconciliation, and he expressed his deep regret (May 19, 1756): "Klopstock ist in Halberstadt, und wird nächstens hier erwartet. Vielleicht kömmt Gleim mit ihm. Wollte der Himmel, dass Sie alsdann auch hier wären, so sollte gewiss alle Uneinigkeit auf immer vergraben werden!" Gleim himself was in a placable mood, as he seldom could bear any grudge, and as a sign of his good will, added Bodmer's picture to his famous gallery.3) He also did not refuse a dozen copies of Bodmer's Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger. Zürich 1757, which Sulzer sent to him of his own accord, although he had not answered his invitation to join the society for the publication of the Minnesingers. Sulzer knew Gleim's compliant disposition and, in spite of his silent refusal, asked him to proselyte for the new society at Göttingen or at Braunschweig. However much Gleim appreciated Bodmer's efforts for the Minnesingers, it took him some time to overcome his anger entirely. Nevertheless he set out to collect contributions in money from his friends, and much credit is due to him for this support, the more so as not one of the Berlin poets nor critics was willing to contribute to the Swiss undertaking. 3) Gleim himself took great pleasure

¹⁾ Gessner to Gleim, Oct. 2, 1755.

²⁾ Cp. letter to Uz, Febr. 12, 1756, and Koerte, Gleim's Leben p. 441, no. 13.

^{*)} Cp. Sulzer to Gleim, May 15, 1757.

in reading the Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger and often wished "that we still had the beautiful brevity and the good sound of the language".¹) His own fables, published at Berlin in 1756 and 1757, contain no trace of imitation of the Old German originals. Besides the fables of his own invention, Gleim's collection contains imitations of Phaedrus, Camerarius, La Fontaine, Grecourt and Gay, and he was sorry that the Swiss publication had not appeared a little earlier. As it was, he had to be contented, "if he had attained in a measure the brevity, cheerfulness and simplicity of the fables of the times of the Minnesingers, which he had read with great pleasure, but not (it seemed shameful) until after the completion of his own work and four hundred years after their composition." ²)

Gleim's ill-humour is apparent in a note to Uz of August 16, 1757: "Es ist ein rechter Jammer, dass die besten Köpfe gemeiniglich wieder einander sind. Es scheint, Herr Bodmer sey eben nicht friedfertig. Mit Herrn Klopstock, dem friedfertigsten besten Menschen von der Welt, hat er sich nicht acht Tage vertragen. Wenn ja Partheyen seyn sollen, warum sollten wir Bedenken haben, die vernünftigste auszumachen, da zwischen Gottschedianer und Schweizer diese in der Mitte stehn kann." reason for such remarks was that Bodmer, in the Zürcher Freymütigen Nachrichten made invectives against the Anacreontic poetry, and Uz, who had Bodmer down in his black books as "fax et tuba belli", involved him in the controversy.5) Gleim was irritated with good reason, for Bodmer had contradicted himself: "Herr Bodmer hat mir über die scherzhaften Lieder so viel Complimente gemacht, dass ich beynah geglaubt hätte, sie wären das, wofür er sie hielt, und nun auf ein mahl ist er so sehr wieder alles Scherzhafte. Sie haben recht, dass mich der Streit mit angeht, und ich fühle die heimtückischen Hiebe gar wohl,

¹⁾ To Kleist, Jan. 6, 1757.

²⁾ Cp. Fabeln. Nachricht, Nov. 1756.

^{*)} Uz to Gleim, July 28, 1757.

die man mir giebt." His confidence in Bodmer was so badly shaken that he "considered him capable of anything since he had treated Klopstock, whom he first extolled to the skies, so badly."1)

It was the year 1758 that brought about the great change. Gleim, inspired by the glorious victories of Frederic the Great, concentrated all his poetical energy and created his sensational everlasting masterpiece, the Preussische Grenadierlieder. Bodmer, who had long before grown tired of the "womanish caresses" of the Anacreonticists, could not remain indifferent to the "manly virtues" and "royal spirit" of these poems and, although he did not feel able "to write just as the greatness of the hero and the vigour of the poet would demand", he congratulated the grenadier, who, at the dawn of great historical events, was deemed worthy of being the contemporary of the famous king and of glorifying his heroic deeds: "Erfüllen Sie diese grosse Bestimmung, und erinnern sich unter der Arbeit zuweilen Ihres poetischen Freundes in den Alpen, der für Friedrich und Sie ganz eingenommen ist." (Febr. 1759.) The rest of the Swiss joined in the universal praise and Gleim was quite overcome with joy (to Kleist, May 1, 1759): "Herr Bodmer, Herr Gessner, Herr Hirzel haben mir geschrieben. Alle dreie sind mit dem Grenadier-Gedicht auf die Schlacht bei Zorndorf mehr als ich zufrieden. H. Bodmers Brief möchte ich abschreiben. Ich weiss wahrhaftig nicht, was ich antworten soll, so hoch ist sein Beifall." Gleim rather tarried with his answer and for the time the correspondence was not started again. Yet in Gleim's letters to Uz we observe a decided change: Gleim does not take any notice of Uz's very frequent and most embittered invectives against the Swiss,3) but simply passes over that subject in silence.

In 1767, the ice was finally broken. Gleim had sent to Bodmer

¹) To Uz, Sept. 8, 1758.

²) Cp. Sept. 26, 1758; March 13, 1762; Dec. 3, 1765; May 17, 1768; June 28, 1768.

his versification of Klopstock's Der Tod Adams and his Lieder nach dem Anakreon, 1766. Bodmer acknowledged the receipt in most exuberant terms and gave expression to his delight in a few strophes, one of which, Der Greis, was meant to be an imitation In the postscript he took up again the Minnesingers and pointed out with regret how little attention had been paid to his edition: "Es ist ein Elend, dass man in unsern dichterischen Zeiten die geschickte Sprache in den Minnegesängen, und ein gröseres Unglück, dass man darinnen die Naivität nicht bemerkt noch gefühlt hat." He added two very good translations of Walther von der Vogelweide: MI 118 b6, and 119 a1, also MI 115 b4, which gave the last impulse to Gleim's Gedichte nach den Minnesingern. Bodmer also looked forward to a visit from Gleim, which the latter had intimated as early as April 29, 1747. Bodmer wrote: "Man hat uns Hoffnung gemacht, dass der Tyrtaeus — Gleim — zu uns in die Schweiz kommen werde. Ich will den Athem in meiner Brust aufzuhalten suchen, dass ich die Züge der Augen, die Mine des Dichters noch sehe, die zu sehen ich immer mir wünschte, und niemals noch sahe. Ich strecke die Arme über Berge und durch Provinzen zu Gleim aus." What Gessner writes, on June 16, 1767, exactly reflects the feelings Gleim had at that time over Bodmer's literary struggles: "Bodmer und Wieland have to suffer from the hatred and the vengeance which they have brought upon themselves by their altogether too violent quarrelling; They both exceeded the limits. — But in speaking of a great man's faults one must not forget the respect one owes to his true greatness."

In reality Bodmer's character was violent and uncompromising, and the sincerity of his friendship to Gleim was not at all genuine. His anonymous book Von den Grazien des Kleinen (im Nahmen und zum Besten der Anakreontchen). In der Schweiz, 1769, was a fling at Gleim, and the same insincerity appears in a disagreeable way in a letter which Bodmer sent to the historian Johann Christian Volz (1721—1783), Gymnasialrektor at Stuttgart and

Prelate at Bebenhausen. The letter, which is among the heretofore unpublished manuscripts of the Castle-Library at Tübingen, frequently alludes to Friedrich Karl Fulda, (1724—1788), Pastor at Mühlhausen in Württemberg, since 1771 crowned member of the Royal Academy of Science at Goettingen, who occupied himself with very diligent studies in the field of Germanic language, and is therefore of double interest for us:

Mein theurester Freund!

Es hat mein abnehmendes Leben erquickt, dass der H. G. R. von Gemmingen¹) meiner sich so freundschaftlich erinnerte. Doch ich habe von derselben Gütigkeit auch von dem Prediger Wintz in Würmberg angenehme Proben. Die Abhandlung des H. Fulda von den deutschen Dialekten²) hat mich in Erstaunen gesetzet, welcher Scharfsinn, welche Belesenheit, welches Gedächtnis, welcher ängstliche Fleis! Ich muste ihn bewundern, aber ihm nachzueifern, gestattet mir das Gepräge meines Geistes nicht; diesem ist der Nutzen von dieser schwerfälligen, zweifelvollen und undankbaren Arbeit nicht sehr einleuchtend. Was ich selbst in der alten Sprache gethan habe, erstreckte sich nicht weiter, als auf die mittleren Zeiten, und ich las in diesem Gesichtspunkt, mir die sittlichen Erscheinungen, die natürlichen Empfindungen bekand zu machen, 3) die in der Priesterreligion keine Aufmunterungen, sondern vielmehr Hindernisse fanden. In dieser Absicht habe ich nicht wenige Romanzen, besonders von Eschelbach in ihren Originalen durchblättert, die ich in der Abtei S. Gallen, in Florenz etc. gefunden habe.

Ich habe aus H. Fulda Übersezung des Tanhusers bemerkt, dass die Sprache derselben Jahrhunderte Ihm mehr als keinem andern

¹⁾ Eberhard Friedrich Freiherr von Gemmingen (1726—1791), since 1767 Regierungsraths-Präsident of Württemberg, was interested and personally productive in poetry. Bodmer edited his book of poems, written in Haller's style, Poetische Blicke ins Landleben, 1752.

³⁾ Über die zween Hauptdialecte der teutschen Sprache. Preisschrift. Leipzig 1773.

³⁾ This goes to prove still more evidently that Bodmer's chief purpose of editing the Minnesingers was of aesthetic, not philological character.

bekannt ist. Er wird doch nicht übel nehmen, dass ich viele Wörter und Stellen anderst überseze. Er sollte lieber ein Glossarium geschrieben haben, als eine solche blos wörtliche und interlineare Übersezung, die keine Übersezung ist, da die Worte sich zum Theil verlohren haben, ihnen Nebenideen sich angehängt, viele zum Pöbel gesunken, so muste das Original in der Übersezung entstellt werden, nicht nur in den Strophen, in welchen Tanhuser im Burlesquen Styl¹) geschrieben hat, und schreiben gewollt, sondern in dem ernsthaften selbst.

Ich sehe nicht, dass dieser unermüdete Mann unsere Chriem-hilde (Zürich 1757), Rieteburgs Fabeln (Zürich 1757), Proben von Minnesängern (Zürich 1748), kenne, welchen Glossarien beigedruckt sind, kaum hat er unsern Abdruck des Lobgesanges auf den H. Anno gesehen.

Es wäre ein Glück für die Sprache und das *Characteristische* der mittlern Zeit, wann H. *Fulda* an statt sich in die ältesten *Epochen* zu zerstreuen, auf das einzige *Studium* derselben beschränkte.

Da ich glaube das Benedictiner Closter Weingarten liege nicht sehr weit von Mülhausen entfernt, so wollte ich Ihm sagen, dass in der Bibliothek daselbst ein vortrefflicher codex, nett auf Pergament geschrieben, verwahrt wird, welcher nebst vielen Minneliedern ein langes Gedicht auf den amor hat, von welchem Gleim und Jakobi, und ihre ganze Bande neue Kräfte sammeln könnten.

Der Geschmack hier ist zu sehr ans moralische und politische gewohnt, als dass unsre Verleger sich mit dergleichen partialen Werk abgeben wollen, wie das Wurzel Lexicon sein



¹⁾ This passage is a new and curious proof of how the terms "ballad" and "romance" were connected with the idea of burlesqueness, cp. Gleim's Lieder, Fabeln und Romanzen. Leipzig 1758. Klenze, C. v., Die komischen Romanzen der Deutschen im 18. Jahrhundert. Marburg, Ph. D. diss. 1891. Holzhausen, P., Die Ballade bis Bürger, Z. f. D. Ph. XV. 129 and 297. Kircher, Erwin, Volkslied und Volkspoesie in der Sturm- und Drangzeit. Freiburg, Ph. D. diss. 1902.

mus. 1) Ich wollte sonst gerne etwas beitragen, den geschickten H. Fulda in seinen mühsamen Arbeiten aufzumuntern und zu unterhalten.

H. Hartmann,²) der in Tübingen studiert, hatte mir schon die beste Meinung von dem H. Prediger gemacht. Halten Sie, mein liebster H. Professor, sich H. Hartmann empfohlen. Er hat einen Guten Kopf, natürliche talente und das beste Herz. Melden Sie dem H. G. R. von Gemmingen meine Ergebenheit in dem stärksten Ausdruck, den Sie in Bereitschaft haben. Sie selber hab ich nicht nöthig zu beschwören, dass Sie ihren ältern Freund nicht aufhören zu lieben. Ich selbst umarme Sie, und lebe so lang ich lebe Ihr Bodmer.

Zürch d. 23. Jan. 1773.

The splendour of Bodmer's name had begun to fade rather fast; his younger contemporaries, much as they recognised his former merits, smiled at his poetical attempts, for it was evident that he had "absolutely no talent for poetry." All his poetical products showed "artificiality, forcedness, learned affectation, and therefore produced a stiff, hard and disagreeable effect". 3) No wonder that Bodmer was glad to have some one to whom he could disclose his growing disappointment, and he took Gleim's poetical gifts like *Halladat* as testimonies of his sympathy and love. 4) The man at 78, as is the way of old people, looked back to the better days of his youth. From his standpoint Hagedorn, Gleim and Klopstock then represented the silvern age; "Then came the spring of a golden era! But this spring was not follo-

¹⁾ This dictionary appeared later as Sammlung und Abstammung germanischer Wurzelwörter, nach der Reihe menschlicher Begriffe. Halle, Gebauer 1774.

²) Gottlob David Hartmann, 1752—1775, Suabian poet, was chiefly influenced by Klopstock, Denis and Kretschmann. He maintained close relations with the Swiss, especially Bodmer and Lavater, and was on a visit at Zürich toward the end of 1773. His early death broke up his very promising literary career.

^{*)} Uz to Gleim, Sept. 26, 1758.

⁴⁾ Bodmer to Gleim, Sept. 21, 1775: "Ihr Halladat hat mein welkendes Leben erquickt."

wed by a summer; we have fallen back into iron days." (July 1776.) Bodmer could realise no better than Gleim that the golden era of German literature had dawned, and while he complained that his own dramas (Patroklus, Die Cherusker, Cicero, Thrasea) were rotting in his desk or in the publishers' bookshops, had no eye for the stars that had already risen on the dramatic sky.

As the ranks of Bodmer's friends grew thin (Breitinger, Sulzer, Künzli, Waser had died) he attached himself still closer to Gleim, and, in a mood fraught with thoughts of death, he bids his last farewell to his "dearest best Gleim", to whom "he owed a thousand placid, dear and pleasant hours", commends his translation of Appollonius' Argonauten to his care and gives him his last blessing (Zürich, April 1779). Gleim was deeply moved by so much sentiment. How great Uz's surprise must have been, when Gleim all at once told him of his prospective journey to Zürich, and expressed his infinite regret over his disunion with the "good father Bodmer". Gleim's lines of Dec. 4, 1779, are these: "Auf das künftige Jahr ist schon der Plan gemacht, über Anspach nach Zürch zu reisen; Uz und Bodmer, sag' ich zu allen meinen Freunden, muss ich noch sehen, oder ich sterbe nicht ruhig!" It sounds like the woeful confession of a penitent sinner, when he adds: "An Vater Bodmer hab' ich mich gröblich versündigt. zerfiel mit Klopstock, ich entschied für diesen. — Vater Bodmer blieb mein Freund; er schrieb an mich von Zeit zu Zeit, ich konte mich nicht überwinden, oder, besser, das grosse Recht auf Klopstocks Seite machte gegen Vater Bodmer mich kalt; Hochachtung hatt' ich für ihn, aber ich liebte den Mann nicht mehr, der, in meinen Augen, an Klopstock gröblich sich versündigt hatte. -Auf alle die treuherzigen Briefe des guten Vater Bodmers blieb ich die Antwort schuldig. - Endlich ists mir Last geworden auf dem Herzen, ich mache mir Vorwürfe, halte für Unrecht, dass ich nicht gleich dem Beklagten offenherzig meine Gedanken bekannt machte, Vertheidigung von ihm verlangte. — Nun kann ichs Alles nicht anders wieder gut machen, als damit, dass ich zu ihm reise."

Uz too had become more lenient with human weakness. The same Uz, who had vowed mortal vengeance, 1) now willingly executed Gleim's commission of forwarding a package containing the Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide to Bodmer and even sent a letter along with the parcel. For he had come to a different view of Bodmer's merits and laid the blame for his attitude on somebody else: "It annoys me to think that this meritorious man is still angry with me. You know that I admire him. Wieland's and Dusch's charges against me have aggravated the matter" (Jan. 10, 1780). Bodmer answered immediately in most friendly and amiable terms. 2) He could not help admiring Uz's "truely German magnanimity, 4 which had made him forget Bodmer's sharp criticisms. 3)

What pleased him most however about the forsaid parcel, was Gleim's Poems after Walther von der Vogelweide. He considered them as a pledge that his life's work had not been futile and he perceived with satisfaction that his seed had begun to sprout here and there: "Ich habe seitdem mehr Winke, dass meine Ahndungen erfüllet worden; man wird täglich mehr aufmerksam auf die altschwäbischen Musen!" Yet he warns against attributing too much importance to every manuscript discovered; for "the old Suabian days had their Dunces too; few Misnere, few von der Vogelweide".4) He also initiated Gleim in his last discovery in the Germanic field, writing: "Ich habe starke Spuren, dass Markgrave Heinrich von Misen ein Gedicht von Helene der Kriechin, geschrieben hat. Seine Sachsen haben es mit dem Frost untergehen lassen, mit welchem sie Orgelpfeifen mit dem Gedicht Josaphat beklebt."

Now that he was in the vein, he disclosed to Gleim a few other products of his old Muse, like Jakob am Brunnen and

¹⁾ March 13, 1762; May 17, 1768.

²⁾ Cp. Uz to Gleim, Dec. 26, 1780.

⁸⁾ Bodmer to Gleim, Jan. 26, 1780.

⁴⁾ To Gleim, Jan. 26, 1780.

Melissus and asked for a favorable opinion. Gleim evidently did not think very highly of that biblical epic, Jakob am Brunnen.¹) But Bodmer, who in the meantime had again been rather productive in biblical epics and political dramas (Levit von Ephraim; Menelaus bei David; Brutus und Cassius), was content with a sign of Gleim's friendship, and Gleim, who was moved by the patriarch's attachment, wished for himself Bodmer's great age, and in his correspondence makes mention of the "grandfather Bodmer, who assured him that he loved him since 1746",²) and he calls him "his only friend who could boast of having seen 84 winters.")

Once more, in Bodmer's last letter of August 18, 1782, the hope is expressed that the poet of the Red book (Gleim's Halladat) would come to Switzerland, but this is abandoned with the consolation that the "German Horace" was in thought daily visiting his senior friend and, with lenient judgement, was reading his late poetical works. Significantly enough, Bodmer had given up the claim to be put beside Homer, for he himself had come to the conviction: "Ich habe des sprudelnden Nektars von der Priesterin der Jungfrau, nicht empfangen, noch den Kranz damit besprengt, der Odysseus Tugenden krönet. Ich ziehe den Kopf, wie den vergessenen Kranz, ein, und ich gräme mich nicht, wenn mein Name, wie des Dichters, dem kein Name zu sanft und keiner zu hoch wäre, von Goethe geklopstockelt wird." Thus the correspondence between Gleim and Bodmer ends with a sense of gloom toward the master of German literature, whom neither could appreciate in his full significance, although he himself, in spite of occasional hard criticisms, has always distinguished, to use Bodmer's own words, "den guten Menschen von dem schönen Geiste," and has established the truth of Bodmer's last will: "Wenn ihr meine Muse nicht achten könnt, so liebet wenigstens meine Person!"

¹⁾ Cp. Bodmer's letter of March 5, 1782.

²⁾ Cp. Bodmer's letter of March 5, 1782.

^{*)} Gleim to Joh. v. Müller, April 7, 1782.

Bodmer died 1783. Gleim, following Meisters example, 1) thought of erecting him a monument by editing Bodmer's letters to Uz and Gleim.2) Gleim, in this letter, gave a resumé of his relation to Bodmer and made the vow that he would redeem his ,sin' by promoting all undertakings in his honor. This plan was, however, never carried out, for the collection of letters was never made. only contribution which Uz was able to make, was the letter in which Bodmer had consented to Uz's wish of reconciliation³). Uz enclosed Bodmer's letter (which is still preserved in the Gleim Archives) but emphatically advised him not to bring the collection to print, referring to the bitter annoyances that had resulted from the edition of Spalding's letters.4) Gleim then desisted, but he kept his friend in fond remembrance, and when, in the eve of his life, the venerable poet felt inspiration for a new poem, he inserted Bodmer's name, enrolling him among the illustrious champions of the Pantheon.⁵)

II. The current views on Minnesong, as reflected in Gleim's correspondence.

In spite of the malice Gleim bore against Bodmer temporarily, he was none the less fairminded enough not to place on a par the man and his literary merits. Once having gained the conviction that the revival of the Minnesingers would ameliorate the "good taste", he was ready to cooperate in the promulgation

¹⁾ Leonhard Meister, Über Bodmern, nebst Fragmenten aus seinen Briefen. Zürich 1783.

²⁾ Gleim to Uz, June 2, 1783.

^{•)} Cp. Uz to Gleim, Dec. 26, 1780.

⁴⁾ Briefe von Herrn Spalding an Herrn Gleim. Frankfurt und Leipzig 1771.

⁸) Cp. letter to Uz, Dec. 6, 1795.

of the primary sources, that is Bodmer's *Proben* and *Sammlung*, and to lend his widely extended correspondence for a kind of advertising service. So these letters afford us the acquaintance with the poets busy in the interest of the Minnesong and form a valuable document for the criticism of the current views on old German poetry.

Uz, whom we know to have been best informed of Gleim's relations to Bodmer, received the news of Bodmer's intention in the line of MHG. literature as early as Oct. 24, 1747. Gleim then wrote: "Herr Bodmer schreibt mir sonst noch allerhand. Das angenehmste wird Ihnen seyn, dass er den Codex der Minnesinger aus der Pariser Bibliothek bekommen hat, und ihn zur Ausgabe fertig macht, er hat mir einige schöne Stücke in Abschrift geschickt." Since Uz did not take any notice of this announcement, Gleim brought up the subject again on March 9, 1748: "Künftige Ostern wird er (Bodmer) den Anfang machen, die Lieder der Minnesinger in 30 Bogen herauszugeben." And in order to gain Uz's sympathy beforehand, he added that the Swiss poet's enthusiasm for his cause made him, Gleim, disregard all the disagreeable invectives against Gottsched. Uz then received these news favorably and on March 25 answered: "Von dessen (Bodmers) Herausgabe der Minnesinger verspreche ich mir mehr: ich bin recht begierig darauf." His expectations however were not to be satisfied so quickly. Bodmer and Breitinger tarried with their publication and not before Febr. 28, 1757 could Uz inform Gleim that he had read the announcement of the Sammlung in the Leipziger Messkatalog: "Die HE. Schweitzer haben eine ihren Kräften würdige Arbeit angefangen, da sie die Gedichte der Minnesinger, mit dem Glossario, herausgeben wollen. Ich sollte wünschen, dass sie, an statt ihrer Heldengedichte, sich auf solche Beschäftigungen einschränketen." Unfortunately enough for the legibility of Bodmer's edition, this promised glossary remained a torso that only comprised the text of the Proben.

Uz's interest in this matter was not confined to these occa-

sional remarks. He read Bodmer's MHG. fables and was thus able to compare Gleim's fables with those of the Minnesingers with regard to their "brevity and dryness". (July 28, 1757.)

1764 the Messkatalog announced Mac Pherson's Ossian in German translation.1) Uz immediately suspected ,, a fraud or at least a big interpolation" and he had his doubts whether parts of sentences of genuine poems were not combined with modern elements. "Ist es denn so ganz ausser Zweifel, dass alte Stücke nicht etwa modernisiret worden? Zweifelt in England niemand daran?" Gleim soon was able to answer Uz's question satisfactorily. Chamberlain von Spiegel of Bayreuth, who had been staying in London for some time, had informed him, that in England Fingal was taken for what it pretended to be. Gleim himself however doubted the accuracy of the translation and vainly endeavoured to secure a copy of the English original (Dec. 8, 1764). What aroused his curiosity most, was the mysterious halo which envelopped the poems of Ossian und which he thought worthy of imitation. Moreover he had had some experience with fictitious names and anonymous editions, and, seeking in German literature for an equivalent of the Scotch-Gaelic poems which Mc Pherson had found in the Irish manuscript, his eyes fell upon the Minnesingers. He at once determined upon his plan. An edition of Minnesongs and other old poems was to be arranged and the favorite though somewhat stale and transparent trick was to be repeated, after it had worked so well with the Lieder eines Grenadiers. Unable to keep a secret Gleim regarded Uz as a good confident and proposed to him: "Was meinen Sie, könnten wir aus unsern Minnesingern und andern alten Liedern, nicht eine Sammlung zu Stande bringen, die von der Beschaffenheit wäre, dass man ebenfalls einen Betrug vermuthen würde." Gleim's poor state of health, his discord with Ramler (Aug. 31, 1765) and his efforts for a complete edition of his works (Febr. 13, 1766) diverted him from his plan. Neither did Uz refer again to this subject,

¹⁾ Uz's letter of Nov. 24, 1764.

and it was not till Dec. 4, 1779 that Gleim forwarded his Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide, making but a few comments upon them: "Ich habe, mein Theurer, Allerley gedruktes, für Sie zusammen gesucht — Lieder nach Walther von der Vogelweide — nicht eben sehr getreu — Hätt ich die Zeit, wie ich die Lust habe, so säng ich eine Menge solcher Lieder nach unsern herrlichen Minnesingern, die von unsern Deutschen so schändlich schon vergessen werden." Uz, in the acknowledgement of his receipt of Gleim's books (Jan. 10, 1780) does not mention the little volume nor the Minnesingers, and the few letters the two poets exchanged till March 17, 1796 treat of other matters, especially of their reconciliation with Bodmer.

Gleim discussed the Minnesingers with Klopstock also and we can divine the tone of Klopstock's conversation with Schmidt and Gleim on his visit to Halberstadt from the joint letter written by the three friends to J. A. Schlegel on June 12, 1750. Klopstock's lines exhale the spirit of a great poet's strong self-reliance, and betray his ironical mood: "Man kann mit hoher Mine herabsehen, wenn sich die Herren den Vorzug in der Kunst zu küssen streitig machen. - Sie wissen nichts rechts von der Seele, die auf die Lippen heraufsteigt. Sie kennen nur verschiedene Wendungen der Lippen, und ein bischen da herum schwärmende mechanische Freude. Dann bringen sie das Ding in ein Minnelied, und brüsten sich hoch her." Gleim took Klopstock's joke good-naturedly and was not deterred from pursuing his MHG. studies. But the subject was not taken up again in his correspondence with Klopstock till May 14, 1773. Klopstock did not like to discuss literary questions with Gleim, who seemed to lack the power of critical concentration and the spirit of unbiased objectivity, and frankly told him so (March 1, 1766): "Interessiren Sie sich im Ernste für meine Abhandlungen vom Silbenmasse? Mir ist es nicht immer so vorgekommen, wenn ich oft Neigung hatte, mich mit Ihnen davon zu unterhalten, und Sie mir dann nicht gleiche Neigung zu haben schienen. Sie wissen, dass so etwas ein wenig empfindlich zu seyn

Riethmüller, Gleim.

pflegt, besonders, wenn man sonst eben nicht verschwenderisch mit solchen Gesprächen ist." On the other hand he was afraid of hurting Gleim's feelings (Dec. 19, 1767): "Sie wissen ja wohl, dass Sie ein wenig kricklich sind, und dass man sich daher kaum getraut Ihnen ein Viertelwort zu sagen." No wonder then, if Klopstock only referred to Gleim's occupation with the Minnesingers in a business-manner, when offering his services to sell a few copies of the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern. The proceeds of this sale were to be devoted to the benefit of two poor girls, the sisters of Michaelis and Benzler of Lemgo, ') which explains Klopstock's lines: "Schicken Sie mir ja etliche Exemplare von dem, was Sie für die armen Mädchen drucken lassen; ich denke sie schon anzubringen."

Samuel Gotthold Lange, with whom Gleim stood, as we know, on most friendly terms, had become deeply interested in Bodmer's efforts. The Sammlung Gelehrter und Freundschaftlicher Briefe bears evidence of Lange's very accurate information as to Bodmer's pursuits, and it was through Lange that Gleim became acquainted with Bodmer and the Minnesingers. Sept. 12, 1747, Bodmer sent to Lange a Minnesong of Reinmar der Alte: Min ogen wurden liebes alse vol2) and gave expression to his confidence in his own command over the MHG. language by composing a strophy, "welche mit Reinmars einerley tour hat." Lange repaid Bodmer's confidence. His interest for MHG. literature was not limited to his Swiss correspondence, but was disseminated over all the Halle circle. Professor Wiedeburg of Jena, for instance, communicated with Lange (April 26, 1752), offering his assistance in the forwarding of the Jena manuscript to Zürich and acceding to Breitinger's request to collect all the fragments of Minnesongs by sending a circular to all the learned societies. Lange had hardly become fairly well acquainted with the language and the

¹⁾ Cp. Gleim to Lessing, May 19, 1773.

²) Cp. M I 80 b 3.

history of the Minnesingers, when his aid was demanded by friends who had difficulties in reading the MHG. text. So Professor Bohn of Erfurt requested (Nov. 10, 1757): "Sie machen mir Lust, diese Lieder zu lesen. Allein, wollen Sie mir nicht Ihre Gedanken von denselben melden, und mir einige übersetzen?" For, he added, since Lange had imparted to him the love and the taste for the Minnesingers, his desire to know them had grown in proportion to his consciousness of his ignorance in this field. Lange satisfied Bohn's demand, by forwarding to him the translations and explanatory notes he had read to his wife. (March 5, 1757): "Denn ich habe seit vielen Wochen nichts anders gethan als meiner Doris diese Sänger vorgelesen, übersetzt und commentirt." Lange remarked that the Minnesingers had not only a softer and better sounding, but also richer language, and he calls the NHG. not only poor, but so to say emasculated ("entmannet"). As an example he gives the word "Liebe", which in his time was used for all phases of love. "Minne zeiget bey unsern Dichtern die Liebe des einen Geschlechts gegen ein anderes an, und sie unterscheiden die Minne nicht nur sehr scharfsinnig, sondern auch sehr moralisch." Before translating Grave Chuonrat von Kilchberg's strophe: "Towig gras, gel, brune bluomen schoene" etc. (M I 12 b 5), Lange gives a linguistic note, which forms a very valuable supplement to what will be said about the word "Minne" in connection with Gleim's linguistic merits: "Da in diesem Liede der Dichter fast allemal einen grossen Unterschied macht, unter Liebe und Minne, so hab ich das Wort Minne, da uns ein andres fehlt, beybehalten müssen und das um so viel eher, da es noch in dem Plattdeutschen hin und wieder und in der holländischen Sprache beybehalten wird, es erforderte auch der besondere Nachdruck des Worts Minne, wie ich aus Meister Ortolph des Arzt Buch, so 1470 gedruckt ist, beweisen kann, da durch Minne eigentlich der Beyschlaf verstanden wird." His translations are as literal as possible in order to show the character of the old language and to save some pithy old words, "Machtwörter", as he calls them.¹) Considering these endeavours, Prutz in his book on *Der Goettinger Dichterbund* hardly hits far from the mark, when he comes to the conclusion:²) "Aus solchen dilettantischen Bemühungen hat im Verlauf der Jahre unsre ganze deutsche Philologie (das heisst, im Gegensatz zur klassischen, die philologische Behandlung unsrer deutschen Sprache und Literatur) sich entwickelt." As far as Gleim is concerned, Lange's translations certainly formed the prototypes for his imitations of the Minnesingers.

The subject of MHG. poetry found its way into the letters Gleim exchanged with the members of the Goettinger Hain, just as it had into his correspondence with the Halle-circle. The documents are however few and far between. Of Heinrich Christian Boie, who had inherited the love for Old German literature from his father, 3) we have one letter of December 8, 1767, which confirms the hard conflict into which other enthusiasts had gotten with the MHG. language, and emphasises the deplorable lack of an adequate glossary: "Ich bin itzt so glücklich gewesen, die Sammlung der Minnesinger mit allen dazu gehörigen Stücken zu bekommen. Aber wenn ich daran komme sie zu lesen, das weiss ich würklich nicht. So viel habe ich gesehen, dass es mir sehr oft schwer werden wird fortzukommen, da der grösseren Sammlung ein Glossar fehlt."

It is rather surprising how very few allusions to the Minnesingers we find in Gleim's correspondence with the chief Minnesinger of the Hainbund, Gottfried August Buerger. In an epistle of Oct. 7, 1771 Gleim alludes to Buerger's Minnelied:

"Er ist in seinem Gott vergnügt

Und Amor ist sein Gott"

which is the oldest version of the Lust am Liebchen. Buerger



¹⁾ Cp. Lange, Sammlung II, pp. 235-286.

²) p. 145.

³) Cp. Muchlenpfordt, p. 20; Weinhold, *Heinrich Christian Boie*, Halle 1868, p. 268.

himself speaks, in a communication of Oct. 20, 1771, of how his poetical productiveness was taken up by the MHG. poets: "Auch ich habe sonst noch ein Dutzend Minnelieder liegen," and as a visible sign of his poetic inspiration he sent to Gleim a *Minneliedchen*, after he had confessed to him that he was in love:

"Minnesold lässt Amt und Ehren, Gold'nen Sporn und Ritterschlag, Lässet ohne Neid entbehren, Was der Kaiser geben mag. Ehre lacht nicht halb so hold, Als der Minne Freudensold."1)

Gleim also enlisted the Bremer Beyträger in Bodmer's cause. He informed Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariae about the prospective edition of the Minnesingers, which the latter deemed "worthy of all possible praise and all possible encouragement". Zachariae only regretted that he was not able to contribute more to the acceleration of that publication, but Braunschweig was no place for such assistance. Yet he, together with Karl Christian Gaertner und Johann Arnold Ebert, gladly advanced the small sum of three thaler ("das kleine Almosen") and promised to use all diligence in selling the copies. He also added, that the Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger. Zürich 1757, had pleased them very much. (Febr. 20, 1757). Zachariae's interest for Old German poetry was not only a momentary fancy. For when he had been entrusted with the superintendence of a bookstore, the Waisenhausbuchladen, and with the editorial management of the Gelehrte Beiträge zu den Braunschweigischen Anzeigen²) and Gleim had advised him to make use of this splendid opportunity for a collection of the German classic authors, especially Opitz, Zachariae could reply that for some time he had entertained projects for the

¹) Cp. Kürschner's Deutsche National-Literatur vol. LXXVIII, p. 56, lines 13-18.

²) Cp. Zachariae's letter of Jan. 6, 1761, reprinted in N. Jahrbücher für Phil. u. Paed. vol. CXIV, p. 410/11.

realisation of Gleim's suggestion'): "Der Vorschlag, den Sie mir wegen Opitz und unsern alten Poeten gethan haben, ist schon seit einiger Zeit mein Vorhaben gewesen. Ich denke also mit Eberten eine Sammlung der auserlesensten Stücke von Opitzen, Flemmingen, Dachen und Gryphius herauszugeben." Gleim cared most for Opitz, of whose works he would have liked to see a school-edition or at least a reprint of the Trost in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges, which he considered quite up to date. He even offered Zachariae ten thaler for the engraving of a pretty titlepage showing Opitz's head, and expressed his conviction that a preface on the Opitzian language, which seemed to him not at all obsolete, would be of great service. Zachariae's anthology really appeared 1766—71 at Braunschweig under the title: Auserlesene Stücke der besten deutschen Dichter von Opitz bis auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten.

Gleim's correspondence with **Johann Arnold Ebert**, as far as it is published in the *Neue Jahrb*. f. Phil. u. Paed. vol. 114 and 116, contains no discussion of the Minnesingers. Only in his letter of Oct. 21, 1772 Gleim claims for himself the title "Minnesänger" in allusion to his publication of 1773.

Of all the many talented young poets who had come under the influence of Gleim's benevolent heart and helpful hand, **Johann Jacob Wilhelm Heinse** stands in the foreground. Introduced by Wieland, Heinse enjoyed Gleim's hospitality on different occasions from 1769 on. Through Gleim's intervention he received an engagement as tutor to the son of Herr von Massow at Quedlinburg, October 1772. In March 1773 he returned to Halberstadt, but departed secretly in the company of Jacobi forsaking Gleim, who had put great hopes in his talent for the projected academy. Nevertheless Gleim was generous enough to support his perfidious friend during his journey to Italy. Heinse's grand discriptions of these travels, which are to be found in the *Deutsches Museum*, 1783, Dec. pp. 486—514, rewarded Gleim's liberality to some extent. Oct. 1786, Heinse was called to Mainz by the Kurfürst Friedrich

¹⁾ Letter of March. 2, 1761.

Karl Joseph von Erthal, and became closely associated with Johannes von Mueller, the author of the famous Schweitzergeschichte. 1) The letters, these two men exchanged with Gleim, are published by Koerte in two volumes, Zürich 1806. From a letter of Febr. 14, 1773 it appears that Heinse knew of Gleim's studies of the Minnesingers. Gleim wrote that he had shown to Klamer Schmidt Heinse's letter of Febr. 4, 1772 (which together with Gleim's preceding letter is lost), without thinking that he had mentioned in it the revival of the Minnesingers. The secret consequently was known to three. The effect which his imitations of the Minnesingers had on Schmidt is described as follows: "Die von den Todten erweckten Kayser, Könige, Fürsten, Grafen und Herren haben ihm so sehr gefallen, dass er gleich selbst einige Erweckungen versucht hat, und es ist ihm herrlich gelungen, aber es soll unter uns bleiben." Referring to this, Heinse in his answer of Febr. 25, 1773 repeatedly calls Gleim "Todenerwecker".

Johannes von Mueller too was familiar with the Minnesingers, for in a passage of April 13, 1781 (Sammlung II, p. 184), where he treats the orthography and euphony of the German language, he deplores the loss of the endings used in the MHG. declension: "Wir haben zu viele Selbstlaute verbannt. Ich weiss, dass auch Sie sehr für den Wohllaut pflegen zu seyn, und Halladat ist dafür Zeuge genug. Ebendeswegen wollte ich, wir hätten gewisse Worte, welche die Minnesänger dekliniren, zu dekliniren fortgefahren."

The confusion of ideas which existed concerning the terms Barden, Minnesinger and Meistersinger, is very well reflected in Boysen's correspondence with Gleim. **Friedrich Eberhard Boysen** (1720—1800), was Oberhofprediger and Consistorialrath at Quedlinburg, and encouraged Gleim to write *Halladat* by his translation of the *Koran*.²) In his letter of March 6, 1771, Boysen treats of "Barden" and "Meistersinger" and asks Gleim's opinion

¹⁾ Cp. Allg. D. Biographie, vol. XXII, 587-610.

³⁾ Der unmittelbar aus dem Arabischen übersetzte Koran, 2. ed. Halle 1775.

on this subject. He tries to derive the word "Barde" from the old German word "Bar", which means sometimes "Ton" sometimes "Lied". He takes this meaning of "Bar" from Kilianus' Etymologicum linguae Teutonicae and reminds of Hans Sachs, who uses "Bar" for "Gesang". He even goes so far as to localise these poets in the distroyed city of Bardewyk: "For Wyk means Gegend, Bardewyk Gegend der Barden!" As a matter of fact the word is to be derived from the late Latin-Gallic bardus = Sänger, poet, which has been jumbled together with Tacitus' Germania III: baritus or barditus. What he says about the Meistersinger partly applies to the Spielleute: "Pöbelische Abkunft, pöbelische Ideen, pöbelische Empfindungen." "Es ist wahr, dass diese Poeten unter der Regierung Otto I das niederträchtige Leben der Klerisey durch die Hechel zogen haben. Sie waren Brotpoeten!" The first school of Meistersinger is not mentioned before 1449 at Augsburg. 1)

Long after Gleim had ceased to compose Minnesongs, his mind was brought back to old German poetry by the correspondence with **Friedrich David Graeter**, which we here publish for the first time. Graeter²) devoted his energy to the promotion of the study of Scandinavian and Germanic literature. In order to disseminate his ideas he established the magazines: *Bragur*, Leipzig 1791—1802 and *Iduna und Hermode*, Breslau 1812—16. His great significance in the establishment of Germanic philology is a yet unwritten chapter of the history of German literature, but is hinted at in Hermann Fischer, *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und F. D. Graeter*, Heilbronn 1877. Gleim entered into relations with Graeter by forwarding to him his *Gedichte nach den Minnesingern*. Graeter's answer is the first letter of their correspondence, and is preserved in MS. 88 no. 18 of the Gleim Archives:

¹⁾ Cp. Goedeke, Grundriss I, p. 203 und 307.

²) Born at Schwaebisch Hall, April 22, 1768, died at Schorndorf, Württemberg, August 2, 1830, as retired Rector of the Gymnasium at Ulm.

Ehrwürdigster Gönner,

So gütig und liebevoll entgegenkommend mussten Sie seyn, um meine Schüchternheit vollkommen zu überwinden. Ja, nun wage ich es unbesorgt, dem Vater der deutschen Grazien einen Versuch zuzusenden, der nur seiner Absicht wegen und dem Bestreben immer mehr zu leisten auf Nachsicht Anspruch machen durfte. Wie glücklich sind wir jungen Schriftsteller, die wir von den Urhebern des vaterländischen Geschmacks und Ruhms so viele Liebe und Unterstützung, auch unverdient, geniessen! So handeln nur Väter gegen ihre Söhne. Ach! könnten wir je denselben, nicht gleich kommen, nur ihrer würdig werden!

Doch ich überlasse mich meinen Empfindungen, und vergesse darüber, Ihnen zu sagen, wie hoch ich mich über die Ehre freute, von Ihnen, Ehrwürdigster Greis, selbst mit den Gedichten nach den Minnesingern beschenkt zu werden, und wie warm und innig Ihnen mein Herz für diese Güte dankt, das Ihnen schon, seit ich den süssen Namen Gleim kenne, mit kindlicher Liebe zugethan war.

Als ich den Traum Werdomars träumte,¹) war der Wunsch so lebhaft in mir, alle die sanften Lieder, die ich auf dem Berge der Gothen von den Harfen der Minnesinger wiedertönen hörte, nur von dem immerjungen Saitenspiele unsers Anakreons gleich den Liedern Walthers, unsern Zeitgenossen vorgespielt zu sehen. Oft setzt' ich mich hin, und schrieb an Sie — aber ich erröthete dann immer selbst wieder über meine zu stolzen Wünsche und übermütigen Hoffnungen! Auch jetzt — dürft' ich es denn wagen, eine Bitte zu thun?

Der dritte Band ist unter der Presse, und begreift allein die allgemeinen Aufsätze über Nord. (ische) Dichtkunst und Mythologie, über die Meistersänger, über die alten Schottischen Melodien, über den Gott Thor, über die Brauchbarkeit der Nordischen Mythologie, und die Prüfung der Beweise für die Existenz deutscher Barden, über die Gegenstände der ältesten teutschen verloren gegangenen Lieder und über einige wenig bekannte ältere Dichter. Der vierte

¹⁾ Cp. Bragur vol. I, pp. 3-54.

Band soll eine Blumenlese von Gedichten aus allen Zeiten und Zweigen der vaterländischen Vorzeit enthalten. Sobald der dritte aus der Presse ist, wird er es wagen, nebst den zwei ersten vor Ihnen zu erscheinen; Nachsicht dürfen sie hoffen; könnten sie auch den Beyfall des edelsten Vaters erringen!

So glücklich werde ich nie mehr, Sie noch in diesem Leben zu sehen! Aber ist man nicht schon glücklich genug, von Ihnen gekannt, nicht zu glücklich, von Ihnen geliebt zu seyn?

Das bin ich, und voll Ehrfurcht und Dank bis an das Ende meines Lebens, und darüber hinaus, wenn's seyn kann, mit Herz und Seele Ihr Sie kindlich verehrender Graeter.

Schwaebisch Halle, am 17. März 1794.

Gleim's answer is preserved in the Royal Library of Stuttgart, in a volume of manuscripts *Briefe denkwürdiger verstorbener Männer und Frauen an Friedrich David Gräter*, that bear the note: "Eine Sammlung Briefe, welche Herr Hoffmann in Stuttgart in Verlag nehmen wollte, es ging aber zu lang mit dem Abschreiben darauf, und so blieben sie liegen."

Halberstadt, den 28. Oktober 1795.

Wäre vor dreissig Jahren, lieber Herr Graeter, ein Graeter gewesen, o, wie wären wir so weit!

Sie scheinen mir der Mann zu seyn, den ich mir wünschte. Nun aber bin ich ein alter Mann und habe zu viel Geschäfte!

Was ich thun kann, das werde ich thun, werde *Bragur* empfehlen, werde spornen, soviel mir möglich ist. Sie werden hoff' ich, das Etwas wenigstens, bewürkt ist erfahren.

Von Musenalmanachen bin ich wahrlich eben kein grosser Freund! Sie verderben, dünkt mich, den Geschmack an grossen Werken! Man begnügt sich mit einem Blumengarten und versäumt das grosse Fruchtfeld! Was von mir in ihnen sich findet, das ist nicht gegeben, ist aufgelesen, geworben!

Was könnt ich Ihnen geben? Zwar hab ich manches in Ihren

vortrefflichen Plan Gehöriges, kanns aber nicht in Ordnung bringen. Kann ich doch mein Eigenes nicht in Ordnung bringen.

Vorerst bitt' ich in die Liste der wärmsten Theilnehmer Bragurs mich einzuzeichnen.

Was Zeit und Umstände verstatten, werden wir sehen.
Ihr ergebenster Freund und Diener
der alte Gleim.

Ich lege Kleinigkeiten, die im Buchladen nicht zu haben sind, bey; aus dem Hüttchen werden Sie sehen, dass ich die Ruhe liebe; wo dann aber find ich sie? Nun bald im Grabe, denn ich bin nun 77 Jahr. Werden Sie so alt, und geben Sie jedes Jahr dem Vaterlande nur einen Band von Bragur. Ich hätte viel noch zu sagen, die Zeit aber fehlt.

Schwaebisch Halle, 26. April 1798.

Vorgestern, ehrwürdiger Vater, erhielt ich das Briefchen, das Sie im Februar an Freund Graeff geschrieben haben. Gingen nicht so manche düstre Wolken über meinen Himmel, die meine Tätigkeit hemmen und meine Musse stören, ich wäre schon längst wieder mit ein paar Zeilen bey Ihnen gewesen, Verehrungswürdiger! Ja, ich hätte billig das neue Stück meines Bragur gar nicht bey Ihnen sollen anlanden lassen, ohne Ihnen zuvor gesagt zu haben, dass meine Zueignung der Blumenlese in der Druckerey verlegt und zu meinem grossen Verdrusse ausgelassen wurde Allein des Klagens bin ich müde! Die Umstände sind einmal so, und lassen sich nicht gebieten! Eben erhalte ich das Manuscript zurück, und sehen Sie hier meine Zueignung. Mehr kann ich nicht sagen. Wie ich sehe, war die Weglassung ein Missverstand des Verlegers.

Gerne setze ich fort, so ich meiner Lage halber, die alles hat, um literarische Arbeiten und Studien zu erschweren, es im Stande seyn werde. Sie wünschen mich zu einem Preussen zu machen, theurer Vater? Wie viel liegt in diesem Wunsche Rührendes für mich! Ich danke Ihnen, würdigster Greis, mit ganzer Seele dafür, wenn er auch nie in Erfüllung geht.

Auf den Y. sind Sie begierig? Warum soll ich Ihnen ein Geheimnis daraus machen? Ich bin es selbst, und verstellte meinen Namen nur, weil ich die Härte philologischer Recensenten kenne, und sie scheute; denn ich bin kein Philolog. Ich habe den Auson nach seinem Zwecke und seinem Herzen wieder zu geben gesucht, und Wörterbücher nicht um Rath fragen können. Übrigens urtheilen Sie zu günstig davon, und scheinen das Ganze für eine Erdichtung zu halten. (Wenigstens müsste ich unbescheiden seyn, wenn ich Ihr Urteil anders auslegen wollte.)

Es ist aber nicht von mir erdichtet, sondern die Originale des Ausonius existiren wirklich. Zehn Jahre hatt' ich ihn vergeblich gesucht; endlich traf ich ihn. Alles was ich mir zurechnen kann, ist, dass ich ihn con amore behandelt habe.

Und nun für diessmal (ach! warum ist die Zeit des menschlichen Lebens so kurz!) nur noch meinen warmen Dank für Ihre Güte! Sie leuchtet wohlthätig in die Nacht meines Herzens!

Ihr Graeter.

1.

Blumenlese aus den Minnesingern

von

F. D. Graeter.

Dem Herrn Canonicus Gleim in Halberstadt gewidmet.

An Gleim.

Verschmähen Sie, theurer Vater Gleim, diese wenigen Blumen aus den Händen Ihres Graeters nicht. Ihnen gebührt alles, was auf den Altar unsrer guten, liebenswürdigen, kraftvollen, und aus Unkunde der Sprache verkannten Minnesinger geopfert wird: denn Sie waren der erste, der die todten Buchstaben der Bodmerschen Sammlung wieder zu beleben anfing. Vater Bodmern, den Erzhirten der teutschen Vorzeit, sandten Sie Ihren Blumenstrauss; Vater Gleimen sende ich den meinigen zu. Dass ihr Wert verschieden ist, kann Niemand befremden. Sie sind Gleim, ich nicht.

Aber ich weiss nicht, wie Ihnen mein Geschmack oder meine Fantasie in der Anordnung dieses Strausses vorkommen mag. Mit Rosen, gewürzreichen Nelken, bescheidenen Veilchen und Schmalzblümchen fängt er an, und endigt mit starkduftenden Tuberosen und der ernsten Passionsblume. Wundern Sie sich nicht! Die Anordnung ist ein unwillkürliches Abbild meines Herzens, in welchem sich oft die süssesten Freuden in dem Hintergrunde eines dunkelgrauen Marmors spiegeln. Gedenken Sie meiner! Ich bin ewig Ihr Graeter.

This anthology was published in *Bragur* vol. IV, Leipzig 1796, pp. 51—123 und vol. VI pp. 1—20. In his introduction Graeter praises Bodmer for his efforts, and then speaks of Gleim: "Der andre Patriot, der sich nun der Minnesinger annahm, ist unser teutscher Anakreon, Gleim, Selbst der schönste Minnesinger des 18. Jahrhunderts. Er hat erst eine Sammlung der lieblichsten Nachahmungen verschiedener, besonders der fürstlichen Dichter, und dann Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide besonders herausgegeben. Wie geschickt diese Nachbildungen sind, Kenner und Nichtkenner zu vergnügen, und zu Aufsuchung der alten Urschriften anzulocken, zeigen die ersten besten Proben." Graeter then reprints Gleim's M. 35:

"Räumt mir den Weg zu meiner lieben Frauen," together with the original of M I 4 b5 (Margrave Otte von Brandenburg), also Gl. W 14:

"Als der Sommer angekommen war" = M I 109 a3 and Gl. W 20:

"Ein deutscher Mann zu seyn ist Ehre" = M I 119 b3, in order to prove that the German language five or six centuries before was no less qualified for "happy thoughts and versions" than the modern language.

Referring to *Der deutsche Mann*, Graeter concludes: "Würden wir nicht dieses schätzbare teutsche Vaterlandslied bis jetzt übersehen haben, wenn uns Gleim, der teutsch-gesinnte Gleim und der Liebling der Musen, es nicht ausgeforscht, und aus so warmem

Herzen in der Sprache unsrer Zeit wieder vorgesungen hätte?" He adds from Gleim's preface to the *Gedichte nach den Minnesingern*, the propositions for the foundation of linguistic academies, reprinting the articles no. 5, 13, 15, 16 and 17 in slightly altered form. We also print Gleim's letter to Graeff, which the latter forwarded to Graeter, with the note: "Hier ein Brief von Gleim, der Sie interessieren wird.

Ihr Heinrich Graeff."

Leipzig, den 18. Febr. 1798.

Sie haben, mein werthester Herr Graeff, meine Schuld, zwey rthlr, für 4 Stück *Bragas*, in die hiesige Buchhandlung angewiesen. Diese zwey rthlr kommen hiebey und sechs rthlr Vorschuss auf ein Exemplar von Kosegartens *Poesien* und aufs Portrait des Dichters, nach Inhalt der Ankündigung vom Dec. vorigen Jahrs im 1. St. des 3ten Bandes der *Braga!*

Dass Sie Ursach haben, lieber Herr Graeff, über die Kälte, mit welcher Braga, aufgenommen wird, zu klagen, thut mir leid; bey dermaliger Stimmung aber, der fatalsten, die wohl je gewesen ist, wars nicht anders zu vermuthen — Ausnahmen machen die alten Freunde vaterländischen Alterthums, die nun selbst schon ein Alterthum geworden sind; diese nähmen gern Antheil, wenn sie nur könnten, nur die Zeit dazu nicht suchen müssten! Bey dem allem wünsch' ich, dass Herr Graeter bis in bessre Zeiten fortarbeiten möge! Vielleicht kommen sie ehender als wirs hoffen! Wir Preussen wenigstens haben die beste Hoffnung! und gehts nach meinen Wünschen, so muss Herr Graeter bald ein Preusse seyn!

Ich schrieb ihm gern, kann aber, wegen schon zu vieler Geschäfte mir nicht noch mehr verschaffen, also bitt' ich nur ihm zu sagen, dass ich seine Deutschheit sehr hochschätze.

Wer mag doch der Y. seyn, der in diesem Ersten Stükke des 3ten Bandes die schöne Dichtung von den Liedern eines Römers S. 102 gedichtet hat. Dürften Sie, so bitt ich mir ihn zu nennen! Sie zeigt von einem seltenen Genie!

Ihr ergebenster Dr. der alte Gleim, Canonicus.

Lessing's interest for Gleim was chiefly stimulated by the latter's Grenadierlieder, which he readily recognised as Gleim's most significant work. The death of Kleist, who had formed the cement of Lessing's friendship with Gleim, and Gleim's versification of Philotas, which Lessing in spite of apparent appreciation could not help regarding as literary piracy, brought about the severance of their intimate relation. Their correspondence therefore contains little discussion of Gleim's efforts in the field of Germanic poetry. In a letter of February 6, 1758, pertaining to the Grenadierperiod, Lessing asked Gleim to accept a preface from his pen for his edition of the Grenadierlieder. For this preface, Lessing had made quite extensive studies in the field of Greek, Norse and German heroic song, in the course of which he ran across two so-called "Heldengedichte", that the Swiss had published. These heroic songs were Chriemhilden's Rache und die Klage, Zwei Heldengedichte aus dem Schwaebischen Zeitpunkt, sampt Fragmenten aus dem Gedicht von den Nibelungen und dem Josafat. Zürich 1757. Lessing's critical mind immediately noticed the unsatisfactory method which Bodmer and Breitinger had adopted in their editorial work. He noted, that "Diese Lecture hat mich hernach weiter auf die zwey sogenannten Heldengedichte aus dem schwäbischen Jahrhunderte gebracht, welche die Schweizer jetzt herausgegeben haben. Ich habe verschiedene Züge daraus angemerkt, die zu meiner Absicht dienen können, und wenigstens von dem kriegerischen Geiste zeugen, der unsere Vorfahren zu einer Nation von Helden machte. Beyläufig habe ich aber auch gesehen, dass die Herren Schweizer eben nicht die geschicktesten sind, dergleichen Monumente der alten Sprache und Denkungsart herauszugeben. Sie haben unverantwortliche Fehler gemacht, und es ist ihr Glück, dass sich wenige von den heutigen Lesern in den Stand setzen werden, sie bemerken zu können." A copy of Bodmer's and Breitinger's edition of the Minnesinger, Zürich 1759, that had been ordered by Gleim, was eagerly seized by Lessing who excused himself for such liberty in a letter of July 28, 1759.

Gleim's answer of August 20, 1759 is lost. Not until February 28, 1773, the subject appears again in Gleim's lines, in which he expresses his thanks for Lessing's Beytraege, which he had hoped would treat of the Minnesingers in a more detailed way: "Sie haben mir sehr viel Vergnügen gemacht; aber ich dachte doch, noch mehr von meinen lieben alten Minnesingern darin zu finden." In Berengarius Turensis Wolfenbüttler Beyträge, Lessing had published a chapter Über die sogenannten Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger, in which he referred to a Bamberg print of fables, dated 1461 and preserved at the Wolfenbüttel library, and he reprinted some specimens. The chief aim of this chapter was to make the Swiss feel small over their publication of fables. Zürich 1757, which they believed to have printed for the first time. Gleim, who noticed Lessing's badly conceiled mischievous joy over the blow delt to the Swiss, justly asked for more positive contributions to the subject at issue. On March 19, 1773, he writes: "Ich wünsche, dass er (Lessing in the Beyträge) von den Schätzen aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger uns noch Lebenden bald ein Mehreres zu betrachten geben möge." Along with this letter Gleim forwarded a copy of the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern. He had expected to surprise his friend with this new product of his Muse, but, just like most of Gleim's literary secrets, his intention became known, before the book had left the printer's shop and, owing to a good many misprints, Gleim was sorry for not having consulted his dear Lessing, the minnesinger." proceeds of the book were to benefit the sisters of the late Michaelis and that of Benzler at Lemgo, for whom Gleim tried to secure a dowry or, if possible, a sinecure in a convent. Gleim intended to dispose Lessing for a favorable criticism saying: "Wenn ich meinem Lessing gefalle, dann werd' ich allen Kennern gefallen; und wenn er mir sagt, worin ich ihm nicht gefalle, dann werd' ich bey einem zweyten Versuche mich bemühen, es besser zu machen." In spite of Gleim's request, Lessing did not voice his opinion on the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern, though Gleim

again urged him (Febr. 8, 1774): "Von den Gedichten nach den Minnesingern sagten Sie mir nichts; ich glaubte, sie hätten Ihren Beifall nicht gehabt, und alle Lust zu Minneliedern war damit getötet." Lessing had taken quite an interest in Gleim's *Halladat*, and over his favorable comments on this poem the Minnesong question was passed by unanswered.

Herder's correspondence with Gleim furnishes little material for either participant's view on the Minnesong. In the first collection of fragments Über die neuere Deutsche Litteratur. 1767,1) Herder finds with Bodmer's and Breitinger's edition the same fault which we have pointed out above, saying: "Aus den alten Schwäbischen Poesien ist, meinem Erachten nach, wenigstens in der Sprache weit mehr zu lernen, als aus Logau. Nur freilich sollten die Schweizer auch mehr Mühe sich dabei gegeben haben, die Idiotismen zu zeigen, zu prüfen und Critisch einzuführen." Yet Herder hesitated not a moment to give the Swiss full credit for their efforts, and only wished that the contemporaneous literature might be profited by them2): "Sollten es nicht die Zeiten der Schwäbischen Kaiser verdienen, dass man sie mehr in ihr Licht der Deutschen Denkart setzte: wir sind den Schweizern allen Dank schuldig, dass sie durch die Ausgabe einiger Denkmäler dieses Zeitalters einen etwas hellern Stral auf die Litterarseite dieses Jahrhunderts geworfen." In his review of Bodmer's Die Grundsätze der Deutschen Sprache. Zürich 17683) Herder deplores the general unpopularity of linguistic studies: "Dies Studium hat, ob es gleich noch nie in Deutschland seine rechte Periode gefunden, jetzt insonderheit so viel liebenswürdigen Tändeleien Platz gemacht." Herder recognised the latent power of the Old German language that, if grafted again upon its remaining trunk, could yield a new period of bloom. Yet he realised how difficult it would be to introduce such archaisms: "da wir einmal so weit abgekommen

¹⁾ Suphan I p. 164.

^{3) 3.}rd Collection of Fragments, Suphan I p. 368.

⁸) Suphan IV p. 298.

Riethmüller, Gleim.

sind von der Sprache der Minnesänger: so müssen wir blos in einzelnen Fällen wieder zurückkehren: Dies müssen Schriftsteller seyn, die ihre Archaismen auch geltend machen können und dieses sind nur Genies, nur die Gattung von capricciosi, die sich auf steilen Felsen und Höhen auch freilich oft versteigen." Considerably overrating the limits of his own talent, moreover urged on by the open praise lavished upon him by Herder on behalf of his Anacreontic poems and the Grenadierlieder, Gleim undertook, as we have seen, the task set by Herder. He therein predates Johann Martin Miller's Minnelieder, that appeared in the Goettinger Musenalmanach of 1774, and which the author designated as an attempt "ob man auch nicht einmal ganz in dem Geiste der Minnesänger dichten, und bei der Gelegenheit einige alte Wörter retten könnte, die nicht hätten untergehen sollen. Sind Minnesprache und alte Wörter in diesen Versuchen ohne allen Geist und bloss der armselige Behelf von Dichtern, die an Originalsucht krankten, so verdamme man sie und tadele mich, der ich das nicht geglaubt habe." In his Gedichte. Ulm 1785, Miller pronounced the same intention, "zum Studium diser Denkmale deutscher Dichtkunst mehrere zu ermuntern, und sie auf wahre Simplicität und auch verschiedene alte gute Wörter aufmerksam zu machen." How very unpopular this revival of old words was, can best be illustrated by contemporaneous criticisms. Christian Heinrich Schmid, in Wieland's Deutscher Merkur 1773, p. 163 remarks with a side-glance at Gleim: "Die Kunstrichter haben es solange wiederholt, dass die Einfalt und Naivität der alten schwäbischen Dichter nachahmungswürdige Tugenden wären, bis man einen Versuch machte, uns auch Minnelieder zu geben. Aber es wird ein Gleim erfordert, um im Geiste der Minnesinger, nicht mit ihren nachkopierten Wendungen und zusammengelesenen Worten zu dichten, was gewinnt unsere Poesie, wenn wir die Liebe Minne, liebenswürdig minniglich, lieben minnen, Liebespfänder Minnepfänder, hold minniglich u. s. w. nennen."

C. Schreiber in *Der Freimüthige* no. 70, writes about Tieck's *Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter*. Berlin 1803: "Ist

das Wort, der Ausdruck (der ja doch nur zufällig ist) der Sprache ganz zuwider, beleidigt er das Ohr, den Geschmack, oder ist er durch die Fortbildung der Sprache unverständlich, oder zweideutig, oder gemein geworden, so hat man, glaube ich, das Recht, das alte unscheinbare Gewand durch ein neues und besseres zu ersetzen. So klingt z. B. der Ausdruck: ein röselichter Mund jedem feinen Ohr widrig. Wer kann Wörter, wie folgende nur erträglich finden: Haubet, Fraue, gnädiglich, lacheliches Grüssen, wunniglich, Summer, meh etc."

When speaking of Gleim's Petrarchische Gedichte, we shall try to show how Petrarca was confused with the Minnesingers. Even in Herder's letter of August 9, 1772, this confusion of terms is apparent. Herder refers there to Klamer Schmidt as a "sweet, sweet minnesinger" on behalf of his Phantasien nach Petrarca's Manier. Halberstadt und Lemgo 1772, and attributes to Gleim the merit of having inspired him to such production. Even, while treating on the Minnesong in Über die Würkung der Dichtkunst auf die Sitten der Völker in alten und neuen Zeiten. 1778,1) Herder mentions Minnsingers and Petrarca in one breath: "Die sogenannte Petrarchische Liebe ist Geist gewordner Duft dieser (the Minnesong's) Zeiten: so wie Petrarka selbst seine schönsten Sonnette und Lieder aus diesem Garten der Liebe brach." What intricate confusion existed as a consequence of such inaccuracy, may be illustrated by Jacobi's article on Petrarca, printed in Iris 1811: "Dieser Sänger einer höheren Liebe ist unter uns in den letzteren Zeiten, durch Übersetzungen und Nachahmungen, dermassen entstellt worden, dass wer ihn nicht auf eine andere Art kennen lernte, nothwendig von ihm zurückgeschreckt werden muss. Seine göttlichen Gedichte, von dem 14. Jahrhundert an bis jetzt der Stolz und die Wonne Italiens hat man zu einem Geklingel von Reimen, zu einem Geleyer in Versen, deren Füsse man uns eintönig vorzählt, und zu kraftlosen Liebeserklärungen, in einer, bald gemeinen, bald gesuchten, unverständlichen Sprache, herabgewürdigt. Vor beynahe

¹⁾ Suphan VIII p. 401.

50 Jahren war der, in seiner Gattung einzige Dichter den deutschen besser bekannt; aber Meinhard's Versuche geriethen . . in Vergessenheit."

On March 29, 1774, Gleim forwarded to Herder's wife a copy of his Gedichte nach den Minnesingern, excusing himself for the misprints. At the same time, Gleim sent the manuscript of his Halladat to Herder, asking for his opinion, but withheld the preface arguing: "Herder ist keine Vorrede nöthig... Für das übrige Publikum soll ein kleiner Vorbericht noch hinzukommen." This preface was however not published. It is preserved as MS. no. 289 in the Gleim Archives, and is of the same transparent character as the rest of Gleim's attempts at fictitious author-names.

Vorbericht.

Dieses so genannte rothe Buch wurde, zu Ende des vorigen Jahres, von einem Reisenden, welcher aus Petersburg kam und nach London gieng, dem Herausgeber, in einer sehr saubern Handschrift, eingehändigt, und von ihm verlangt, dasselbe zum Druck zu befördern.

Den Nahmen des Reisenden hat man nicht erfahren können. Er wollte nicht bekannt seyn, er redete wenig, und man scheute sich, ihn auszuforschen.

Aus seinen sparsamen Gesprächen konnte man schliessen, dass er mit den Ausons, den Banks, den Salandern, den Baugainvillen, den Pallassen, den Neubauern, den Riedeseln auf seinen Sieben und zwanzig jährigen Reisen bekannt geworden sey.

Für den Verfasser des rothen Buchs wollt' er nicht angesehen seyn, er sagte mit zweyen Worten, er sey es nicht, und gewiss, er hat die Wahrheit gesagt; Merken aber liess er, dass es übersezt seyn könnte, wiewohl auch darüber nichts gewisses aus ihm herauszubringen war.

Es schien, als wenn ihm viel daran gelegen sey, dass es bald gedruckt würde; zwanzig Exemplare, befahl er, solten gebunden in rothes Papier, fordersampt abgesendet werden, an das Parlament von Grosbrittannien, sieben an den Kayser der Deutschen, sieben an die Kayserinn von Russland, sieben an den König von Preussen, sechszehn an die Landgräfin von Hessen Darmstadt, ein und zwanzig an den Erbprinzen von Braunschweig, zehn an den Marggrafen von Baden-Durlach, und sieben und zwanzig an den Fürsten von Dessau. Diesen Befehl wird der Herausgeber genau befolgen.

Übrigens dankt er für das ihm bezeigte Vertrauen, der Herausgeber dieses rothen Buchs zu seyn, und versichert, dass es seine Schuld im mindesten nicht sey, wenn es etwa nicht simpel genug, nicht ohne Druckfehler, und nicht ohne Buchdrucker Zierrathen aus der Presse kam; denn der Herausgeber ist von dem Ort des Drucks zu weit entfernt gewesen, und es liessen die Umstände, die, bey Besorgung desselben, sich äusserten, so fort von ihm und seinen Freunden sich nicht ändern. 1774."

Herder was so enthusiastic over *Halladat* that the *Gedichte* nach den Minnesingern remained, as in the case of Lessing, undiscussed. Gleim never tired of urging Herder to complete his *Volkslieder* (1778/79) and for that deserves a good deal of credit He himself promised "ein altes deutsches Lied" as his contribution (April 7, 1779); Herder's collection was however closed before Gleim had found time to copy his poem (July 22, 1779).

In Zerstreute Blätter. Gotha 1793. Fünfte Sammlung: Andenken an einige ältere deutsche Dichter, 1) Herder again takes up the Minnesong-question and exposes the great defect of Bodmer's and Breitinger's editorial work, to which the prevailing lack of popularity was due to a great extent. 2) As for translations, Herder would rather not try any remodeling, since the subtle charms of the old language easily suffer when transferred into modern speech ("Unsre rauhere Sprache"). In order to preserve "the flowing grace and sweetness of the old German language" it would be most advisable to read these songs in the original. Herder

¹⁾ Suphan XVI pp. 212-218.

³⁾ Suphan XVI pp. 214-15.

acknowledged Gleim's "very successful imitations", but could not help insisting upon his own principle 1) that the translation should "den unterscheidenden Ton des Autors finden, sich in den Charakter seiner Schreibart setzen und uns die wahren unterscheidenden Züge, den Ausdruck und den Farbenton des fremden Originals, seinen herrschenden Charakter, sein Genie und die Natur seiner Dichtungsart richtig auszudrücken.")

III. Gleim's imitations of the Minnesingers.

In 1748, Bodmer and Breitinger published the Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des 13. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Manessischen Sammlung. The very next year a result of this literary effort appeared in Gleim's collection: Lieder. Cantamus vacui. Zuerich 1749. Here we find on pages 14 & 15 a poem entitled Daphne with the marginal note: "S. Das Gedicht des von Trosbergs, in den fuertreflichen Proben der alten schwaebischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts, welche Herr Prof. Bodmer herausgegeben. Zuerich 1748." The original is reprinted on p. 150 of Bodmer's Proben and in MII 52 a 6 of the great collection. Gleim's poem illustrates so well his method of translation or rather imitation, that it is well worth the trouble to reproduce both, the original and the copy at the outset, as the latter is typical of the principle to which Gleim adhered with very few changes in all of his Minnesongs.

Daphne.

Daphnen muss die Schoenheit croenen! In der schoensten Frauen Creyss Trat sie ein, und alle Schoenen Ueberliessen ihr den Preiss.

¹⁾ For Herder's own translations of Minnesongs Cp. Reinke, Joseph. J. G. Herder als Übersetzer altdeutscher Gedichte. Münster. Ph. D. Diss. 1902. pp. 36—47.

²⁾ Suphan I p. 288.

Wie bey Sternenvoller Nacht, Wenn der Morgenstern erwacht, Er sie alle dunkel macht.

Ja, sie muss den Sieg gewinnen!
Himmel, ach! als ich sie sah,
Wolte mir die Seel entrinnen,
Und entzuecket stand ich da.
Wer kann ein Gesicht so schoen
Und so holdes Laecheln sehn,
Und nicht ganz entzuecket, stehn?

Watteau koente sie nicht mahlen!
Ihres Mundes rother Schein,
Sandte gleichsam warme Strahlen
In mein kaltes Herz hinein.
Und es ward so freudenreich,
Als thaet ich auf sie zugleich
Einen Blick ins Himmelreich.

In dem Tempel solcher Freuden, Wolt ich stets ihr Sclave seyn, Und mich einst von ihr zu scheiden Schien mir rechte Todespein. Sclavisch folgt ich ihr noch nach, Als ich: Engel! Goettin! ach! Seufzte; ploetzlich war ich wach.

Wilhelm Koerte, always endeavouring to smooth any rough passages in his uncle's poems and handling his material very freely, in vol. I of his *Gleim's Sämtliche Werke*, pp. 170 & 171, followed the above version, but made some improvements in the text, so

strophe 3, lines 1-3: Ach, kein Mahler kann sie mahlen!

Ihrer roten Lippen Schein

Sandte wunder warme Strahlen.

strophe 4, line 3: je for einst,

line 4: wahre for rechte.

line 5: folgte for folgt; noch is cancelled.

lines 6 & 7: "Goettin!" seufzt' ich, "Engel, ach!" —

Ploetzlich aber war ich wach!

Gleim himself gave another version of this poem in the *Petrarchische Gedichte*. Berlin 1764. He changed the title into *Ismene* and could not refrain from inserting the names of Doris, which he applied at one time to Lange's wife at another to his own financée. Always anxious to promulgate the knowledge of the Minnesingers, he enlarged the original gloss and advertised Bodmer's great edition of 1758. He attempted to inspire the reader to make himself familiar with the MGH. language and betrayed his own increasingly greater acquaintance with the ideas of the Minnesingers by premising a new strophe which is no direct imitation of Der von Trosberg:

O wo faend ich ihres gleichen!
Iris und Helena weicht!
Meine Doris selbst muss weichen,
Wenn sich solch ein Engel zeigt!
Eine Goettin muss sie seyn!
Mit der staerksten Schoenheit Schein
Nimmt sie aller Herzen ein.

The first line of the formerly first strophe is also changed:

Doris selber weicht Ismenen.

It is not difficult to find analogies for Gleim's strophe in the Minnesingers. Often the beauty of the beloved one is compared with that of goddesses, especially Venus, so M I 148 b5 (Wolfram von Eschenbach):

Venus dü goettinne

Lebt si noh si mueste bi ir verblichen sin, or with that of other classic beauties, like M I 140 a 5 (Walther): Si ist schoener und bas gelobt denne Helêne und Dyane.

The comparison of a woman with an angel is also very fre-

quent in the Minnesong. Walther von der Vogelweide praises the German women, because they

Als engel sint getan (M I 119 b 3) and Der von Suonegge calls them

an küsche engel (M I 194 b3.4.) and tells of his first rendez-vous, when he thought das ein schoener engel were.

Cp. also M II 32 b 7 (Uolrich von Liechtenstein):

Ir lib engel schone hat, and M II 40 b4.

The rest of *Ismene*, not considering a few unimportant changes, is, like *Daphne*, an imitation of Des von Trosberg's strophes: (M II 52 a6).

Ich vant si bi maniger schonen frowen do ich die minneklichen iungest sach do begunde ich erst ir guete schowen, wie si vür ir aller schoene brach sam der morgen sterne luhte us vil sternen des mich duhte merkent wunder was an mir geschach

Nach hat si mir lachent angewunnen minen lib als ich iu wil veriehen Von mir wolde dú sele sin endrunnen do ich sach so minneklichen brehen wisse zene us rotem munde lebt ich tusent jar in kunde munt so roten niemer gespehen

Do gesach ich die vil guoten lachen do begunde ir mundes roter schin mir so lieht in minem herzen machen das ich wande das dú sele min sehe in das wunnekliche wolgetane himelriche do wande ich von ir gescheiden sin.

We see Gleim has made considerable alteration in the metre. He extends the original three strophes of 7 lines each with 4 and 5 stresses to four strophes of 7 lines each with 4 stresses throughout. The rhyme scheme ab ab ccb is altered into ab ab ccc. At the very beginning Gleim makes the greatest mistake possible to any genuine Minnesinger: he has the indiscretion to betray his beloved one's name. That Daphne or Ismene are fictitious names is of little moment. Our poet then weakens the impression of the woman's beauty, which, in the original, breaks forth with elemental power, (wie si vúr ir aller schoene brach) by applying the personal turn: "Alle Schoenen überliessen ihr den Preis."

Sam der morgen sterne luhte us vil sternen is dilated to 3 lines (I, 4-7), which remind more of Wolfram von Eschenbach's:

Venus dü goettinne mueste bi ir verblichen sin (M I 148 b 4).

Interjections like Ja! (II, 1), Himmel! (I, 2) and ach (I, 2 & IV, 6) are not conformable to the Minnesong. 1)

Beside a padding like II, 1 we find a literal translation which must have sounded antiquated even to Gleim's contemporaries in II, 2:

"Wolte mir die Seel entrinnen",

when compared with the original:

Von mir wolde dú sele sin endrunnen.

In II, 4—7 Gleim drops the fine analogy between the morning star that outshines all the other stars and the wisse zene us rotem munde and loses thereby a most delicate effect. Instead he renders the two lines:

Lebt ich tusent iar in kunde munt so roten niemer gespehen

in three, but hardly attains the strong significance of his model.

Line III, 1: "Watteau koennte sie nicht mahlen" is no less out of place than the marginal note: "A French painter,

1) Cp. the special chapter below on pp.

who otherwise liked to beautify the beauties!" Gleim himself felt the weakness of this line and in *Ismene* had it changed to

"Koennt ich doch den Engel mahlen!"

The most appropriate correction seems to be that in Koerte's edition:

"Ach, kein Mahler kann sie mahlen",

which bears resemblance to other Minnesingers, for instance to Walther von der Vogelweide (M I 118 b 4):

Got hat ir wengel hohen flis er streich so túre varwe dar so reine rot so reine wis da roeseloht da lilien var.

In lines III, 2-4 Gleim also amplifys the original by adding the element of that warmth which flows from the heart of the beloved to the lover. Cp. M I, 125 b 2:

min herze swebt in sunnen ho and MI 6 b1 (Margrave Heinrich von Misen):

Do ich die minneklichen erst an sach Do bran ir munt das sich min herze enzunde.

Yet Gleim again fails to carry out the metaphor so common with his models, which compares the change brought about in the lover's mind to the change of seasons, Cp. M I 140 a3 (Walther):

Der kalte winter was mir gar ze swere ander lûte duhte er guot mir was die wile als ich en mitten in dem meien were.

and M II 209 a 3 (Der Diurner):

seht der schoene muos min bluender meie sin.

Gleim's last strophe hardly bears any resemblance to M II 52 b3, except that both poets express their willingness to serve the lady of their heart:

Mines dienstes wil ich swigen und wil uf genade nigen.

For similar ideas Cp. M II 150 a 1:

Ich bin din kneht du min gebieterinne.

MI3 a: Din eigen diener wil ich sin.

With the last lines Gleim rather cleverly turns the poem into an episode, which suggests the conjecture that he was fairly well acquainted with Walther von der Vogelweide even at that early period. The surprising conclusion:

"Ploetzlich aber war ich wach"

also occurs in M I 137 a 1 (Walther):

Do taget es und muos ich wachen. and Heinrich von Morungen in MI 56 b5: do tagt es.

Only in one other poem of the *Lieder*. Cantamus vacui. 1749, the influence of Gleim's M.H.G. studies is noticeable, namely in *Lob einer Schönen*, p. 8. The poet extols the beauty of his "Saechsische Helene", of whom he says:

"Die Augen, die sie sehn Die muessen gleich vergaffet stehn!"

Perhaps it is not too far fetched to cite Walther's M I 116 a 2:

Wir lassen alle bluomen stan und kapfen an das werde wib.

This supposition is confirmed by Gleim's other two imitations of M I 116 a 2 in *Gedichte nach Walther*, page 49: An die Schoenen and Das schöne Weib. Moreover the lines:

"Die griechische Helene War lange nicht so schoen"

are analogous to Walther's M I 140 a 5:

Si ist schoener denne Helêne und Dyane. -Cp. also M II 207 a 2, (Chuonrat von Wiurzburg), where Elene von Kriechen, as the most beautiful of all women, rewards the Mizener for his beautiful poetry.

In Gleim's second publication of the year 1749, Lieder. Frui paratis et valido mihi, etc. Amsterdam 1749, we can, with good reason, expect to find traces of the Minnesingers' influence. They are, however, very faint, perhaps merely unconscious reminiscences. Moreover the vocabulary and the technical apparatus of

the erotic poets have at all times and in all nations some resemblance and it would be going too far to assert that Gleim here and there intentionally copied the Minnesingers. Nevertheless the similarities are surprising:

Cp. Gleim p. 11, Abschied von Chloris:

"Ich kuesste sie ein hundert mahl,"

with Uolrich von Liechtenstein's M II 36 b6:

Da wart geküsset tusend stunt,

or MII 28 b 5:

Das versuonte ein küssen an ir munt er wünschet dar wol tusent stunt naher und naher bas und aber bas.

M II 36 b 2: Nu kússe tusent stunt mich so kússe ich zwir als ofte dich.

M I 113 b 5 (Walther): Er kuste mich wol tusent stunt.

Cp. M II 38 b 5: Da kust er wol tusent stunt.

(M II 39 b 4. M II 42 b 5. M I 171 b 1.)

In the poem *Doris im Garten* Gleim compares his beloved to a rose, just as Uolrich von Liechtenstein does in M II 40 a 5:

Ich bin vro von einer rosen.

Gleim even adds intensity to his metaphor, depicting a rose in the dew of morning, Cp. Uolrich in M II 37 b 8:

Rehte als in des meien touwe — — die rosen

or Schenk Uolrich von Winterstetten in M I 59 b 2:

Towig rose gegen der sunnen. (MI 201 b 1. MI 2 a 4).

Gleim's: "Ich aber kann auf ihren Wangen

Die Rosen und die Lilgen sehn"

sounds very much like Walther's M I 125 a 4:

Ir wangen wurden rot

sam diu rose da si bi den lilien stat.

or MI 118 b 4, where Walther describes his lady's cheeks as being da roeseloht da lilien var;

Cp. M I 128 a 2:

Sin lilien rosen varwe (M I 59 b 2).

The same metaphor is used, this time undoubtedly as an intentional imitation, in Gleim's *Petrarchische Gedichte*, p. 11:

"Ich nahms und küsste sie! da floss von ihrer Wange Wie eine Lilge weiss, wie eine Rose, roth, Ein heisser Thränenbach!"

and ib. p. 13: An Doris Blumenbeet.

- "Will ich - nebst den Rosen ihrer Wangen

Des Busens Lilgen sehn!"

and in the poem An Doris (Petrarchische Gedichte 25. Koerte. Werke I 192 with wrong date 1744):

"Rosen blühen auf den Wangen, Liljen glänzen rund umher"

or similarly in Koerte Werke I 209: Der Alte.

"O weil auf deinen Wangen Noch frische Rosen blühn."

and Petrarchische Gedichte 13: An Doris Blumenbeet.

"O welche Rosen ihrer Wangen!"

The MHG. instances for this comparison are very numerous:

M I 46 a7: Mit roeslehtem wangen.

MI 201 b4: Ir roeselehter munt.

M II 18 a5: Ir munt sam ein rose.

M II 41 a1: Roter danne ein Rose ist ir munt.

M I 6 b2: Ir roeselehtes wange.

(M I 194 b 1. M II 55 b 5. M II 92 b 5).

The comparison of the maiden's beauty with spring (Gleim's: "Den ganzen Frühling ihrer Wangen") has also its analogy in the Minnesong. So says Uolrich von Liechtenstein in M II 39 a 7:

Si ist der minnegernde meien zit.

and Heinrich von Morungen in M I 55 b3:

Si ist des liehten meien schin.

or Der Taler in M II 99 b4:

Ich kroene ir schoene vür des liehten meien schin.

In the interval between 1749 and 1764, Gleim's interest in

the Minnesingers by no means grew cold, as we have seen in our first chapter. In 1764, a little volume *Petrarchische Gedichte*. Berlin. appeared, the title of which the author thought necessary to explain. He did so in a *Nachricht*, in which he again rides his hobby by feigning that the anonymous publisher had received the poems from his anonymous friend and had, on his own responsability, published them under the above title.

In fact Gleim had formerly mentioned Petrarca in the preface of the Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern, 1744. As was his manner, he did not forget his happy thought and took this opportunity of recurring to it. In addition, he was reminded of the Italian poet by Meinhard's Versuche ueber den Charakter und die Werke der besten italienischen Dichter. 2 vol. Braunschweig 1763 & 64, in which the author offered criticisms on Dante, Petrarca, Pulci, Ariosto and other Italian poets of the 15th and 16th centuries, and gave translations of samples of their works in German prose.

Lessing saw through Gleim's fiction and in number 332 of the *Briefe*, die neueste Literatur betreffend (July 4, 1765) he wrote:

"Ich weiss nicht, ob gewisse Gedichte, die vor einiger Zeit unter dem Namen Petrarchische Gedichte. Berlin 1764 ans Licht getreten, bereits eine Frucht der nacheren Bekanntschaft sein sollen, in die Herr Meinhardt unsre Dichter mit dem Petrarca gebracht hat. Das weiss ich aber, dass diesen Gedichten, welche fuer sich betrachtet, sehr artig sind, das Beywort Petrarchischer ganz und gar nicht zukoemmt. Ist es doch auch ein blosser Zusatz des Herausgebers, der selbst zweifelt, ob der Verfasser damit zufrieden sein werde. Er kann unmoeglich: Denn sein Ton ist mehr der spielende Ton des Anakreon als der feyerlich seufzende des Petrarca. Der platonische Italiener guckt nicht so luestern nach des Busens Lilgen, und wenn er Tod und Ewigkeit mit den Ausdruecken seiner Zaertlichkeit verwebt, so verwebt er sie damit; anstatt dass in den deutschen Gedichten das Verliebte und das Fromme, das Weltliche und das Geistliche, wie in dem ruhigen Elementglase, in ihrer ganzen klaren abstechenden Verschiedenheit neben einander stehen, ohne durch ihre innere Vermischung jene wolluestige Melancholie hervorzubringen, welche den eigentlichen Charakter des Petrarca ausmacht."

Koerte in Gleim's Leben, p. 123 rightly says: "Richtiger wuerde der Titel gewesen seyn: "Minnigliche Gedichte"."

The first two strophes of the introductory poem: Erscheinung der petrarchischen Muse have all the characteristic features of a Minnesong. Just as in the Minnesingers the perfect beauty of the appearing Muse is described with all the minor details, for which we have furnished illustrations above. To these we might add perhaps, in order to match still more closely the brillant splendour of the woman's face and her angelic appearance, a passage from M I 49 a 7 (Herr Heinrich von der Mure):

Ich sehe gerne sunder wank den ir vil minneklichen schin. ich wolt es iemer lieber an für einen engel sehen. The idea in Gleim's second strophe:

"Kein Auge hat ein sterblich Weib so schoen Von so vollkomner Anmuth je gesehn" very often occurs in the Minnesong, Cp. M I 60 b3 (Schenke Uolrich von Winterstetten):

In gesach nie schoner wib und also wol gebaren In gesach nie wibes lib so reinen und so claren. and again M I 61 a6: Wer gesach je schoner wib? and literally the same in M I 139 b6 (Walther).

The joy with which the sight of the beloved one fills the lover, (Gleim str. II lines 3 & 4) may be sufficiently illustrated by Walther's M I 108 b 2:

Der blik gefroewet ein herze gar den minneklich ein wib an siht. Gleim felt himself also stimulated to imitate Walther's famous Under der linden, M I 113 b 4-6. Yet he was not very successful with either his first and more elaborate imitation: An Damon (Petrarchische Gedichte 6-7) nor with the second short strophe: Die Erinnerung (Gedichte nach Walther 17). In both poems it is not the beloved one who gives her own recollection of the happiest hour of her life, but the lover is telling his sweet adventure. In the ode An Damon the point of Walther's Minnesong is weakened to a first kiss, and while the minnesinger's sweetheart rejoices in happiness:

Er kuste mich wol tusent stunt tandaradei seht wie rot mir ist der munt, goodman Gleim is satisfied to sing:

> "Ich gab den ersten Kuss, da stieg Ein artig Roth in ihr Gesicht."

Half ironically, half anxiously the maiden thinks of their meeting place:

Kumt ieman an das selbe pfat Bi den rosen er wol mac tandaradei merken wo mirs houbet lac.

Gleim only marks the place by a footprint.

Walther's ardent lover prepares for the occasion riche von bluomen ein bette stat, so that passers-by

mugent vinden schone beide gebrochen bluomen und gras.

Gleim's sweetheart is tamer:

"Hier pflückte sie mit zarter Hand Viel liebe Blümchen ab, und band Mir einen Blumenstrauss, und hier Gab sie ihn mir!"

Finally very little of the original is left save the nightingale, of which is said: "Die Nachtigall sang Liebeslieder."

The original colour has not faded quite so badly in Gleim's Riethmüller, Gleim.



second version, *Die Erinnerung*, yet here only one strophe is rendered:

"Unter'n Linden, Wo sie mir zur Seite sass, Koennt ihr finden, Blumen und gebrochnes Gras, Vor dem Walde, Dal de Dall, Schön sang uns die Nachtigall!"

This "Dal de Dall," which is used to preserve the rhyme, hardly comes up to the cheerful tandaradei of the original.

Besides the many comparisons Gleim makes, in accordance with the Minnesingers, between his beloved one's features, and certain flowers, he also claims that her beauty is incomparable with the beauty of flowers:

Petr. Ged. 14. An ihre Blumen:

"Und in dem ganzen Blumenreich, Ist ihrer Schönheit keine gleich."

Cp. M I 59 a 1 (Schenke von Limpurg):

Ich sihe min lieb für bluomen schin.

M II 99 b4 (Der Taler):

Ich schowe frouwe dich fiur alder bluomen schin.

M I 2 b2 (Kiunig Wenzel von Behein):

Die reinen suessen frowen die sol man alle stunde für bluomen uf der heide sehen.

M I 194 a 6 (Von Suonegge):

An das eine ob mich dú guote troestet, —

mich gefroeite nie bluomen.

M I 162 b6 (Her Luitolt von Seven):

Ich froewe mich ir guete wol von schulden bas danne aller blumen rot.

Yet woman's beauty is worthless without virtue:

Petr. Ged. 23. Doris im Garten:

"Dein schön Gesicht

O Doris reizet mich so nicht

Wie deine Tugend"

"Deine Tugend

Gehet über deine Jugend."

In the same manner, however indefatigable in praising women's physical excellencies, the Minnnesingers give the preference to virtue, Cp.

M II 54 a 6 (Von Stadegge):

and Petr. Ged. 25. An Doris:

Ane guete ist schoene ein wiht.

M I 119 b 4 (Walther):

Zuht gåt vor in allen.

MI 122 a 6:

Es tuot in den ougen wol das man si siht und das man ir vil tugende giht.

MI 117 a6:

Diu schoene gat der liebe nach.

M II 33 a 2 (Uolrich von Liechtenstein):

Si muos tugende guete bi der schoene han.

M II 36 a 3:

Das ist ein wib dú wol mit tugenden kan ir wibheit kroenen.

All these parallels may suffice to illustrate Gleim's free imitations of the Minnesingers. His two special little volumes of Minnesongs prove that his principle has not undergone any changes. His poems are neither translations nor entirely new creations, but a motley mixture of words and expressions borrowed from the technical apparatus of the Minnesingers, antiquated metaphors, Anacreontic trifles, Horatian pleasantries, pastoral sweetmeats and, last not least, Gleimian insipidities. We miss the critical mind that immediately discovers the characteristic features of his model and cleverly disposes of them while making a copy, and yet creates a new and independent work of art. Gleim's contemporaries were

not blind to the defects of his poems. Criticising the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern the Magazin der deutschen Critik vol. II part. 2 p. 291 (1773) wrote:

"Sollten manche Leser hier eine Sammlung von Gedichten suchen, die sie ganz eigentlich mit dem Characteristischen des Geschmacks der Minnesinger bekannt mache, so möchten sie ihren Wunsch nur hier und da erfüllt sehen.

Ich weiss nicht, wie ich diese Gedichte nennen könnte: — Übersetzungen? — Modernisirte Minnelieder? — Nachahmungen? — Das alles sind sie nicht, oder vielmehr sind bald dies, bald jenes. Aber das weiss ich, dass der Ton sehr oft verloren ist; nur da ist er übrig geblieben, wo man das Gedicht freie Übersetzung nennen kann."

The Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek vol. XXIV part 2 p. 400 (1775) passed a similar judgement and Koerte, who otherwise in his biography misses no opportunity of magnifying his uncle, is unusually severe in his criticism on pp. 172 & 173. Herder was more lenient with Gleim; for he had himself experienced the great difficulties of translating Middle High German poetry without a dictionary or any other expedient, and he openly confessed that it was too great a task for him to translate this poetry in conformity with his own high principles. Although Herder, we must confess, was too indulgent with his Halberstadt friend, yet we shall have to point out, (what none of the critics has done so far), Gleim's undoubted merits in reviving old terms and metaphors common to the Minnesong, in reimporting lost words as well as enlarging the technical stock of lovepoetry, which flourished again with

¹⁾ Cp. Suphan XVI. 213. The difficulties which Bodmer's contemporaries encountered while attempting to read the MHG. Minnesongs are well illustrated by a letter of Biester to Buerger, dated Sept. 17, 1777: "Wirklich ist diese Zürcherische Ausgabe fast noch, was ein Kodex eines alten Griechen ist: keine Interpunktion, keine Anzeige, wo ein Gedicht eines Dichters aufhört und ein anderes anfängt, kein Inhalt, keine Erklärung der Namen etc. Wieviel ist nicht noch zu thun? Hin und wieder sind offenbar falsche Lesarten."

the Goettinger Hainbund, especially Buerger. Gleim's efforts appear all the more meritorious, as a closer investigation shows how little Gleim really understood of MHG. language. In the following we shall demonstrate, what mistakes Gleim made in his interpretation of the Minnesingers, and what foreign elements he allowed to creep in.

a) Mistakes in translation; misprints. Doubtful inaccuracies, betraying unfamiliarity with the language.

In the Vorbericht of the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern Gleim tries to protect himself against the reader's reproach that his familiarity with the language of his models could not have been very thorough, asking excuse for apparent mistakes because of his lack of time to polish any rough passages. ("Der Verfasser bittet, manchen Schein, als ob er jene nicht verstanden hätte, nur für Schein zu halten, weil er nicht selten, blos aus Mangel der Zeit, seinem Kopf folgen, und manche Stellen stehen lassen müssen, die er mit der Feile gern hinweg genommen hätte.") In literary criticism such apologies do not pass, especially as Gleim had a weakness for apologetic prefaces. We have a right to regard as undoubted errors those passages in which Gleim vainly tries to give literal translations.

Gl. M 15: The word sender or senden gave Gleim considerable trouble. On p. 15 he made a false copy of M I 1 a 2, which shows clearly that he did not translate the passage rightly.

MI 1 a 2: swenne ich gescheide von dan

so ist mir aller min gewalt und min richtum dahin

wan senden (Gleim: sender) kumber den zelle ich mir danne ze habe.

Gleim must have taken senden for sender = sonder, without, instead of sehnender = longing. (Cp. Gleim M 29: "ohne Klage" and M I 4 a 6: so stirbe ich sender klage.)

He shows the same uncertainty about the word sender or senelich in other instances and always avoids translating it:

Gl. M 69: Bis sie dir deinen Kummer nimmt.

MI3 b4: Si welle dinen senden kumber swenden.

Gl. M 43: Nach einer aber nur gerungen.

M I 5 a 6: Nach einer ie min sendes herze rang.

Gl. M 47: Was hilfts, dass ich den schwarzen Kummer klage?

MI 6 a 5: Was hilfet das ich senden kummer klage?

Gl. M 40: Noch nie hatt' ich so grosse Noth;

MI 5 a 5: Mir beschah nie so seneliche not.

Gl. M 24: Wohlauf, es tagt vortrefflich schon.

MI2 b5: Ez taget unmassen schone (Schone = schön, beautifully.)

Gl. M 31: Wo Ritter, und wo Frauen sind,

Da mag der Ehren viel geschehn,

Doch pflegt auch oft ein Lügenwind

Die reinste Tugend anzuwehn.

MI5 a2: Swa ritter und frowen sint
al da mag eren vil geschehen
jedoch ist das vil gar ein wint
da wider und ich min lieb mag sehen
si lühtet sam dü sunne.

Vil gar ein wint means that the excellency of the poet's love is so great that in comparison with her (dawider) every other brilliant company of knights and ladies is like wind, "null und nichtig."

Gl. M 32: Spricht einer böses von der Minne.

M I 4 b 2: Wie sol man bas gesprechen von der minne.
(Bas = besser, better.)

Gl. M 33: (2 errors) Den preis ich, der zu allen Stunden Um Minne flehet.

MI4 b3: Ja wol dem der unminne zallen stunden gerne flühet.

(= die Unminne, Lieblosigkeit fliehet.)

Gl. M 38: Unschuldige, wie sie, sind rar.

MI4 a3: das hat si verschuldet gar wol.

(Verschuldet = verdient, deserved, no meaning of guilt).

Gl. M43: Nach einer aber nur gerungen Hab' ich, und hab' es keinen Dank.

M I 5 a6: Dú sol sich bedenken bas.

(Bedenken = to think it over. Gleim took the word for bedanken = to thank for)

Gl. M 44: O! du geradeweges wende Geliebte du, dein Herz zu mir!

M I 5 a6: In ir herzen ist dú liebe mir gehas das wende vrowe

(= das ändere, verhindere, change!)

Gl. M 56: Wie sanft ist er (der Wind);

Nach ihm sich umzudrehen

Kam einem Kaiser in den Sinn.

M I 6 b5: Wie moeht ein luft so sueze draien.
(Draien = hauchen, duften, breathe).

Gl. M 60: Da verblühte mein Herz.

MI7 a6: Do verblide das herze min.

(Verbliden = fröhlich sein, frohlocken, to rejoice)

Gl. M 70: Ich Wald will alle meine Lauben Abbrechen.

M I 3 b4: Ich gruener walt will alle min loeiber brechen.

Here it may be doubtful whether Gleim intentionally introduced a pastoral idea. The literalness of his translation suggests the suspicion that he overlooked the real meaning of loeiber-Blätter, leaves, which is supported by

M II 203 b4 (Meister Chuonrat von Wiurzburg):

Loeiber ab der linden risent von den winden

and: Der meie wîderbringet bluomen und loeiber in dem hage.

Gl. M 76: Doch freuet Sonnenschein in sommerlicher Stunde Mich nicht so sehr.

M II 225 b3: Der sunnen schin

mich froewet niht so wol in sumelicher stunde

Sumelich is adjective pronoun = in solcher Stunde, in such an hour.

Gl. M 79: Diese — —
Gaben alle dir,
Grosser Helden Namen.

M I 113 a 4: Si gebent dir alle heldes (holdes) wort (Hagen: heiles).

(= Worte der Huld, Huldigung, words of homage. If we read heiles like Hagen = beglückwünschen [Pfeiffer]).

On this mistake Gleim moreover bases the following pun:

Gl. M 80: Gieb der Milde dein Königliches Wort, Ihr ein Held zu sein!

Gl. M 87: Sie soll von allen Tugenden Begleitet gehen in der Mitte.

M II 148 a1: So das ir wibes guete und wibes tugende volge mitte.

(= mitfolge; mitte is not a noun, but a separable prefix)

Gl. M 90: Hast du dein Pfund vergraben.

M II 147 b4: Wilt du das der funt dich lange frome So diene nach dem funde das du vor gedienet soltest han.

Literally: "If you wish that the find may be of lasting benefit to you, serve after the find just as you ought to have served before." Gleim misunderstood funt and intermixed a biblical parable, Cp. Luke 19 (Luther): Gleichnis von den anvertrauten Pfunden.

Gl. M 94: Liebe mag zu Liebe taugen.

M I 194 a2: So sprichet lieb ze liebe tougen

(= so spricht Geliebter zur Geliebten heimlich, thus speaks lover to beloved secretly.)

Gl. M 95: Unglück bracht es meinem Leben.

M I 172 a3: als ungeliches leben

(= als ungleiches Leben, as unequal life.)

Cp. Hagen I, 153 a: mit ungelîcher wage

III, 36 a: ir lôn wirt ungelich.

Gl. W 28: Der ist's, dem da der weise Mann, So recht auf seinem Nacken steht.

MI 127 b2: Der schowe wem der weise ob sime nake ste der stein ist aller fürste leite sterne.

Der weise is the famous jewel in the German royal crown, thus called on account of its unique rarity, Cp. M I 102 b3:

Philippe setze den weisen uf.

Gl. W 29: Die nahen Späher zupfen dich!

M I 127 b4: die nahe spehenden zihent dich (Zihen = zeihen, beschuldigen, to accuse).

Gl. W 31: Allein mein Stock ist hin

and W 50. An Herrn Stock, den damaligen päbstlichen Legaten in Deutschland:

Herr Stock, euch hat der Vater Pabst gesandt

W 51: Zu grossen Schanden hergesandt, In unser deutsches Vaterland,

Seid ihr Herr Stock?

The marginal note in W page 31: "Der damahlen nach Deutschland abgesandte päbstliche Nuntius", is Gleim's own invention and shows, how little Gleim had understood his model, M I 132 (not 146, as Gleim writes) a5:

Ich han si an minen stock gemennet (= ich habe sie an meinen Opferstock (Latin truncus) geführt, I have led them to my collection-box, which the papal nuncios used to set up when selling their letters of indulgence.) Gleim's note was due to a false comprehension of MI 132 a6: Saget an her stoc hat úch der babest her gesendet? This her stoc is merely a personification like her meie, frou werlde, frou minne, and others. Cp. Walther's characteristic remark:

MI 127 a6: Diu minne ist weder man noch wib Reinmar von Zweter carries the personification so far as to say

M II 131 a3: Walt hat oren velt hat gesiht

Cp. M I 114 b5: frou selde (also M I 119 a5)

M I 114 a3: froue Minne (M I 113 b 8; M II 241 a5; M II 242 a 4 and many more).

M I 111 b1 & 3: Fro welt

(MI117b8; MII241b1; 241b4; 242a2; 243a1.4.5; 243b3.6.)

Cp. also Chapter IV 7 a.

Gl. W 39: König Philipp? höre, höre!

M I 113 a4: Philippe kúnig here

(= hehrer König, noble king.)

It is not manifest why Gleim did not recognise this adjective, after he had used it in W 13; Cp. the special paragraph in Chapter IV 2, under hehr.

Several mistakes in Gleim's translations arose from misreadings. The copying of the MHG. text, however little it was, caused him serious troubles, which we can only attribute to the imperfection of his linguistic attainments. In a letter to Heinse of Febr. 14, 1773, he bitterly complains about the Gedichte nach den Minnesingern: "Es hat mir diese Woche schrecklich viel Copisten Arbeit gekostet. Das Abschreiben ist eine schreckliche Sache. Gewiss hätte ich unterdess eben so viele Lieder gemacht, nicht gemacht, gesungen, denn ich singe, wenn ich mache." Moreover the printer's ignorance may have allowed many misprints to slip in. When Gleim sent a copy of his first Minnesong-experiment to Herder's wife, he enclosed a few lines of excuse with regard to this, March 20, 1774: "Aber eh' es in ihre Hände gelangt, bitt' ich die

Druckfehler nach beiliegender Anzeige zu bessern, weil mir selbst diesen Augenblick dazu die Zeit zu kurz ist." The copy of the Halberstadt Library shows many corrections in Gleim's own hand, which will have to be considered in a critical edition.

Some of the misprints, however, confirm the suspicion that Gleim really was at fault in his interpretation.

Gl. M 37 he copies M I 4 a 3:

Ich sah die vil minnekliche Vor mir stan in richer waht,

instead of wat = Gewand, clothes. In his translation he avoids the difficulty: Ich sah in reicher Schönheit schön

Die minnigliche stehn.

Gl. M 114 Gleim faithfully copies the misprint in Bodmer's M I 137 b 3, last word: muos, which is to be changed into muot:

So verzagt an froeiden maniges muot.

The rhyme alone ought to have suggested this change: guot—tuot— muot in the rhyme scheme ab ab ccb.

The Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide abound in inaccuracies.

Gl. W 15 the strange punctuation spoils the sense of the strophe:

Dass der Strahl der Sonne, Meine Sommer-Wonne, Mir nicht tödte.

The two commas are to be cancelled.

Gl. W 28: Du Crone, dass du doch so sehr

Der Fürstin Augenweide bist!

Fürstin is probably to be changed into Fürsten, according to MI 127 b2: Diu ougenweide sehent die fürsten gerne.

Gl. W 31, *Die Kaiserwahl*, Gleim gives a wrong quotation. Instead of "Erster Th. S. 146" put 132,

Cp. M I 132 a4.

Gl. W 31: Ihr deutsches Silber führt in meinen welschen Schrein; führt to be changed into fährt, as in

MI 132 a 4: Ir tútsches silber vert in minen velschen schrin.

Gl. W 51: Zu grossen Schanden hergesandt, In unser deutsches Vaterland, Seyd Ihr, Herr Stock? should be zu grossem Schaden, Cp. M I 132 b 1:

Her stoc ir sit uf schaden her gesant.

In many instances Gleim was mislead by the mere sound of a MHG. word, which he, uncritically enough, rendered by a modern German word of similar sound.

Gl. M 36: Von zweyen grossen Leiden, ach! Bin ich verwundet, ha! Und diese beyden grossen Leiden . . .

MI4 b6: Ich bin verwunt von zweier hande leide. (MHG. leid = NHG. das Leid, -es, not = das Leiden, -s.)

Gl. M 93: Sein Gruss, ein Blitz der Rache, führt Durch reine Herzen Strahlen.

M II 150 b 3: Sin gruos durh reiniu herze strale fueret. Strâl means Pfeil, dart, Cp.

Hagen Ms III 30 b: Sît ich trage den slac von der minnen strâle.

dto. Ms II 213 b: schiez den pfîl und auch die strâle. M II 45 a 2 (Uolrich): Do dü minne mir verwundet mit ir strale das herze min.

MI 114 a2 (Walther): das ich weis ir habt noch strale me muget irs an das herze schiessen.

Gl. M 99: Nichts wildes müsse seinen Schuss — — meiden M I 111 a6: Niht wildes mide sinen schus.

Wildes is partitive genetive of the substantive das wild = game.

Gl. M 113: Nachtigall in unsern Chören Schwinget er sich hoch empor!

M II 207 a 2: Er doenet vor uns allen sam diu nahtegal vor giren.

(Giren = Geier, voltures.)

In W 18 Gleim also evades a difficulty:

Der dumme Reiche sitzt auf ihren dreyen Stühlen

- - und fordert unsern Gruss!

M I 112 a 2: Es hat der tumbe riche ir drier stuol ir drier gruos.

(Gruos = Titel, Würde, title, dignity.)

Gl. W 29: - gib uns lieber hundert Pfund,

Mit schönem Dank ---

Als Hundert tausend, ohne Dank!

MI 127 b 4: Du moehtest gerner dankes geben tusent pfunt danne drissec tusent ane dank.

(dankes = aus freiem Willen, Antrieb, of your own free will,

ane dank = ungern, widerwillig, unwillingly.)

A number of other instances may illustrate how little the correct definition of MHG. terms or the meaning of peculiar MHG. constructions was known:

Gl. M 32: Wer ihrer pflegt, der waltet guter Sinne, Hat gut Gesicht und gut Gehör!

The second line, a padding, shows that Gleim in his definition of sinne lays too much stress on the physical side.

MI 4 b3: swer der (minne) pfliget der waltet guoter sinne

emphasises the moral sense, for

Minne tuot dem man niht arges muetes.

Swer der minne ist undertan

Si lat in manige tugende sehen

Si leret súnde lan.

Gl. M 39: Ich dacht' ich hätte satt

Mich schon geliebt,

M I 5 a 3: Ich wande das ich iarlang hete ufgegeben der minnen ein teil.

(iarlang = für dieses Jahr, for this year.)

Gl. M 54: Denn ich will singen, dass man lassen Den Menschen gute Freude muss.

MI6 b4: Ich wil mich guoter froeide nieten.

(nieten = sich befleissen, to apply o. s. to s. t.)

Gl. M 60: Und ihre süssen Glockenstimmehen hörte.

MI 7 a 6: Und ich erhorte das suesse gelut von den megden fin.

(gelut = Getöne, sounding. Gleim takes the word too literally = das Geläute, ringing of bells, instead of = das Gelaute, sounding.)

Gl. M 66: Gott geb ihr, was ihr Herz begehrt.

MI3 a4: Got gebe in swes ir herze gert.

(= ihn, nach dem ihr Herz begehrt. The absolute lack of punctuation in Bodmer's edition somewhat accounts for Gleim's inaccuracy.)
Gl. M. 66: Ihr schwarzes Haar.

M I 3 a 3: Krispes har (= krauses Haar, curly hair.)

Gl. M 99: Könnt aber ich, was jeder Gutes kann.

MI 111 a 6: Koende ich swas ieman guotes kan (ieman = jemand, irgend einer, some one, any one.)

Gl. M 112: Fremder, wilder Greifen zweene Führten übers grosse Meer Ihn hinweg.

MII 207 a 2: In fuorten ubers leber mer der wilden grifen zwene.

The leber mer is the fabulous curdled sea as described in full detail in the Gudrun. 1)

Gl. W 24: Euch Fürsten red' ich an, hört mich, mit reiner Güte!

MI 132 b 5: Ir fürsten tugent iwer sinne mit reiner guete.

(tugent from the weak verb tugenden = versehen, zieren.)

Gl. W 24: Und, hier auf Erden schon, erwerbt ihr selber Euch Dass bessre Fürstenthum, im grossen Geisterreich.

¹) Cp. Muellenhoff & Scherer, Denkmäler, vol. II (1893) pp. 190-192. Also Conr. Hofmann, Sitzungsberichte der Muenchner Academie. 1865. II. pp. 1-19.

MI 133 a 1: so muget ir in himelriche bouwen.

Gleim takes bouwen = bauen auf, to trust in, and mixes in a biblical reminiscence. The correct meaning of bouwen is = leben, wohnen, to live.

- Gl. W 31: Hab unter eine Crone dort zwey Allemannen bracht.
- MI 132 a 4: ich han zwene allaman under eine krone braht.

Allaman is used in a scornful sense, for zwene tútsche. Walther refers to Otto and Friedrich II.

Gl. W 31: Er spricht zu seinem Cämrer.

MI 132 a 4: Swanne er sinen walhen seit.

(Der Walh = Latin Gallus, der Wälsche, Italian.)

Gl. W 33: Wir armen Layen sehn, und hören, Ihr Unrecht würken, hören's sagen.

M I 133 b 3: Das wir's unrehte würken sehen unrehte hoeren sagen.

(= dass wir sie schlecht handeln sehen und schlecht reden hören, that we see them acting bad things and hear them saying bad things.)

Gl. W 34: Dass Er das Gold von Büchern schabe,

Die er für edle Gottes Gabe,

Zu theuer euch, und uns verkauft!

Wir wurden nicht darauf getauft!

M I 133 b2: So saget war umbe er sine lere von den buochen schabe

> Das man Gotes gabe iht koufe oder verkoufe Das wart uns verbotten bi der toufe.

Gleim misses the point entirely. Walther asks the bishops and priests: Tell me why does he (the Pope) scratch out his doctrine from the books? When being baptised we were forbidden to buy or to sell God's gift, (the remission of sins).

Gl. W 47: Und kehre meinen stolzen Nacken Statt meiner blöden Wangen ihnen zu! M I 117 a 2: Dar kere ich — —

minen nak alder ein min wange (alder ein min wange = oder eine meiner Wangen, or one of my cheeks.)

Gl. W 53: Sie, zu der ich manchen kleinen Hass trag'.

M I 137 b6: Der min herze treit vil kleinen has

(= sehr kleinen Hass, very little hatred, in other words: "whom I love". Gleim's mistake is all the more curious as he uses this typically MHG. form of comparison in M 52:

Die argen Schalke tragen Viel grossen Hass zu mir.)

b) Interpolation of elements foreign to the Minnesong:

Anachronisms, Names, Pastoral elements, Anacreontic-Horatian elements.

In his lack of discrimination, Gleim went so far as to introduce into his imitations of the Minnesingers ideas quite extraneous to those common to their period. Time and again he resumes the same strain, in which he had tested his poetical abilities before, so that some of his Minnesongs very much resemble a gay mosaic of Gleim's poetic periods.

Most objectionable are the linguistic anachronisms, especially in the Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide. In Die alte Crone, Gl. W 27, for instance, the Minnesinger all at once unmasks himself as a contemporary of Frederic the Great, who most submissively addresses the King with "Ihro Majestät".

On p. 47. Ursach, warum er das Basson nicht mehr bläst, the lovesick knight has become an amateur on the bassoon and serenades his beloved. We find the errant poet on the lovely Albertus heights near Halberstadt, making love to the "beautiful Anna Winli" (p. 54).

Even the yelling of German bards, that ill-reputed "Deutsche

Bardengeheul" of the 18th Century, rouses the Muse of Gleim's Minnesongs (p. 56):

Derer, die das Harfenspiel Deutscher Barden gerne hören, Gibt's so wenig.

Here and there strange intruders confront us. In poems, otherwise quite pure, we find names of Gleim's contemporaries or friends, and our Minnesinger does not hesitate, as we have seen above, to proclaim the name or pseudonym of his mistress.

Gl. M 39 Gleim dedicates his imitation of Margrave Otte von Brandenburg mit dem Pfile (M I 5 a 3) An das Fräulein Winsbeck, although Bodmer in the preface of the Sammling p. VIII was inclined to take the Winsbeke and the Winsbekin for fictitious persons.

We give a list of the names occurring, part of which are inexplainable:

M 43: An Eringard
M 100: An das Fräulein SunneM 47: An Eringard
M 52: An Hillma
M 104: Im Namen einer armen
Waise (Michaelis'sister).
M 68 & 69: Thusnelde
W 30: Adelheide
M 71: Irmegart
W 43: Dunsen
M 77: An Sellmar
W 46: Sunnemann

M 85: Ein Herkules, ein Zen- W 49: Winli (M II 21 a 6 — giskan M II 24 a 1)

Ein Teut, ein Leibnitz, W 52: Im Namen einer armen Hippias, Waise (the poem is only Ein Cäsar, ein Pythagoras Gl. M 104).

M 86: Musarion, Betty, Ana- W 54: Anna Winli, pseudonym kreon for Anna Luise Karsch.

In another respect Gleim's imitations of the Minnesingers inaccurately reflect the originals, in as much as he frequently does not adopt their mode of thinking, but drapes them with other ideas and forms of representation. Guenther Koch in *Gleim und die*

Riethmüller, Gleim.

sogenannten Anakreonteen p. 13, raises the question, how many modern and how many antique elements Gleim interweaves into his description of landscape. The same question would apply still more to his Minnesongs. While the old Minnesinger naïvely expresses his love of nature, either jubilantly hailing the return of spring or deploring the hardships of winter or praising his beloved one's beauty above all charms of nature, Gleim returns to the technique of his Scherzhafte Lieder and leads us to groves where smooth zephyrs whisper, sweet fragrance of flowers fills the air, fountains purl and birds sing, and all this only tends to create a background for some erotic adventure or some lustful scene, although we must admit that in his Minnesongs Gleim has avoided the obscenities of his Scherzhafte Lieder. One example may suffice to illustrate Gleim's method: MI3 a 2 (Kiunig Wenzel von Behein) is an alba, a Wächterlied with dramatic amplifications. hears the watchman's morning call, offers him rich reward if he will allow her lover to stay. He agrees and now the stage is clear for a love scene. "Da das ergieng, da ist ouch me ergangen" the poet adds roguishly. So there is no description of nature whatsoever in the original, save the watchman's call referring to the "tag mit siner roete". Gleim only took up the last line which appealed to his imagination and so we have now the Scherzhafte Lied Gl. M 26: An zwey Verliebte.

Die beiden Artigsten in meinen Landen
Sah ich, da sie beysammen standen,
Umringt von Sommermorgenluft,
Von Lilgen und von Rosenduft,
Und Hand in Hand und Mund an Mund,
Westwinde lispelten, Brunnquellen rauschten und
Viel kleine Männervögel sangen
Mayliebe, Weibchen in dem Nest;
Ihr Artigen, ich glaube vest
Da das ergieng, da ist noch mehr ergangen.
As in the Lieder. Frui paratis p. 62 and in Koerte, Werke I

p. 157. 207, Gleim retains the forest as a scene of love, Cp. Gl. M. 103: "Ey! welch ein schöner grüner Hayn!" The Minnesinger always meets his sweetheart on the heather, the anger or heide. Hain for him means Dornbusch, Verhau, thicket, and, instead of loving couples he only finds that "ensidel und marder sint in welden", or he says that one goes "birsen in die welde" (Renner 22. 720).

For typically Anacreontic-Horatian themes we do not need to go far. Anacreon's cheerfulness is wished for (Gl. M 86), the good genii (Gl. M 56) and the Muse are invoked (Gl. M 52, Cp. Koerte I p. 1. 305. 307) and the haters of life's joy, the "Freudenhasser" are stigmatised (Gl. M 54, Cp. Koerte I p. 248). Even the merry representatives of classic mythology, the frolicsome Gods of the Anacreonticists make their appearance:

Gl. M 102: Mir aber war, als wenn In meinem sanften Abendwinde Die Liebesgötter lispelten.

Cp. Scherzhafte Lieder, Koerte I p. 96.

Iris p. 41. Die Trennung:

Zündet Hymen seine Kerzen An den Pfeilen Amors an.

This theme is treated in two anacreontic poems Amor and Amor und Hymen, see Koerte I p. 225 and pp. 226/7.

Even the sweet tediousness of the pastoral world sounds its shalm in Gleim's Minnesongs. The shepherds and shepherdesses in Opitzian costume revive and along with them the old lyrical properties, lambs, rose chaplets, flower beds and nightingales are brought to light again. Gleim did not blush to call up Opitz's Herzinia, Gl. M 36:

Auf meiner lieben Blumenflur Will meine liebste Blume sterben! Und von dem Kinde der Natur, Herzinien, kann ich ja nicht einmal Nur einen Blick der Liebe mir erwerben! Everything else is here: the lambs and the shepherdess (Gl. M 21), the quarrel between the rightful shepherd and the meddler, the crook (Gl. M 23), the little cot (Gl. M 65), the arbour (Gl. M 70) and the seat of sheaves (Gl. M 102). In Gl. W 26 & 44 we have a praise of country life, which sounds like a reminiscence of the *Lob des Landlebens*. Berlin 1764.

c) Gleim's Minnelieder; published in Jacobi's Iris.

The rarity of Jacobi's journal Iris seems to justify the reprint of Gleim's Minnelieder published in vol. V, all the more so as they are not contained in either of the two collections nor reprinted in Koerte's edition, except no. 2. Gleim, in these specimens which are not mentioned by any of his critics, has drifted still farther away from the simplicity of the originals. He hardly uses any old forms nor does he make any pretentions of adhering to his models. Instead he introduces elements foreign to the Minnesingers, especially religious ones in a false species of Minnesong, Cp. Das schöne Weib, and transforms Gottfried von Strassburg's touching but always manly admonition of a father to his son into a wailing lament after the manner of the 18th Century hymnals. With him, the old knight has become a poor sick beggar who seems to be a member of some pietistic sect. The idea of Gottesminne is overlooked entirely.

Iris. Fünfter Band. Berlin, bey Haude und Spener. 1776. Erstes Stück, Jenner 1776. pp. 30-41.

Minne-Lieder.

T.

Das schoene Weib.

Nach Reinmar von Zweeter.

Vor allen Dingen auf der Welt

Hat Gott das Weib geschmückt;

So dass ein schöner Mann gefällt,

Ein schönes Weib entzückt!

Das Weib ist schön! — Die Sonne strahlt' Mir herrlich ins Gesicht, — Das Weib ist schöner — Oeser mahlt ... singt es nicht.

Wie eine schöne Crone, schwebt Vor mir das schöne Weib, In welcher eine Seele lebt So schön, als wie der Leib.

Weiss einer einen höhern Preiss Und eine grössre Zier? Der, oder diese, die es weiss, O, die verrath' es mir!

Ich will's ihr danken. Schönes nur Hat edlen Reitz für mich; Den schönsten Stern, die schönste Flur, Das schönste Weib lieb ich!

Und wenn das schönste Weib auch noch Das frömmste wär'; o dann! O solch ein Weib, o, weist mir's doch, Ich geh', und bet' es an!

Cp. the model, M II 142 b 3:
Got hat mit hoher werdekeit
Gar sinen flis vúr ellú ding an reiniu wib geleit
So das si getúret sint uber alles das in der werlde lebt
Ir werdekeit ist so geslaht
Das ir lob hat uber flogen alles lobes maht
So das ir lob geliche ob allem lobe
Schone als ein crone swebt
Diu reine wib sint werder danne diu sunne
Nieman lebt der wib vol loben kunne

Noch ir lob muge vollerihten
Das in uf erde iht si gelich
Mit eren reines muotes rich
Wisse ieman das des bite ich mih berihten.

II.

Ein sterbender Vater an sein einziges Kind. Cp. Koerte II p. 363:
Der sterbende Vater.

Nach Gotfried von Strasburg.

Kind! und sollte Glück dich meiden, Sollte Glück, mein Sohn,
Dir nicht geben Geld und Guth,
Das sollst du geduldig leiden, Sollst du es
Und behalten guten Mut. frohen
Deinem Gott sollst du's verdanken, du es danken
Seiner Gnade dich erfreun;
Und nicht weichen, und nicht wanken,
Jener Freuden werth zu seyn.

Armuth, Kind, ist ein Geselle, (Kind) Schlafgesellc
Der's getreu und redlich meint.

Zum Bewahren vor der Hölle, Dich zu sichern
Giebts nicht einen bessern Freund! fast keinen
Sieht er Sünders Auge trübe Ist des
Kind, er fügt, gedenk daran! Sohn
Zwischen Gott und ihm die Liebe, dir
Die kein Engel fügen kann!

Armuth liebte, der der Eine
Hehrste Gottversöhner war,
Armuth liebt' er, als die reine
Süsse Mutter ihn gebahr.
Armuth musst' uns Heil gewinnen,
Armuth litt' er Tag und Nacht,
Armuth nahm er mit von hinnen,
In den Reichthum seiner Macht.

Liebes Kind, ich will dich lehren, Welchen Schaden Geld und Guth Wenn wir's haben, und vermehren, Insgemein dem Menschen thut. Es gebiehrt ihm das Vergessen Gottes, und der Laster Schaar, Weiber, Wein, und süsses Essen Bringen Seelen in Gefahr.

Leichte könnt' ich dir erweisen,
Dass es Gift ist, liebes Kind!
Ich erfuhr's an manchen Greisen;
Thörigt machts, und toll, und blind;
Und auch dumm zu guten Werken;
Wer's empfängt, hat keinen Schmerz;
Aber Tod ist bald zu merken,
Fliesst's in ein nicht gutes Herz.

Kind, verschmähen dich die Leute, (A. Weil du Geld und Guth nicht hast; Lass Sie! Mache dir's für heute, Mache dir's zu keiner Last, Morgen oder übermorgen Wirst du's sehn! Sie schmähen fort; Aber aller deiner Sorgen Reichen Lohn empfängst du dort.

Denn du wirst in Demuth wandeln, Neben deinem Wanderstab; Und nach Gottes Willen handeln, Von der Wiege bis ins Grab. Ja, das wirst du! dies Vertrauen Dank ich Gott, du liebes Kind, Dann noch, wenn in jenen Auen, Wieder wir beysammen sind.

Lieber Sohn

den

Unsers Gottes Jahr für Jahr vieles

Geld und Gut gibt manchen Sparren
Alle Gauche haben's gern!
Geld und Gut macht manchen Narren
Über uns zum strengen Herrn.
Geld und Gut ist Gift: Es körnet
Manchen Mann zur Missethat,
Dass er sich von Gott entfernet
Und der tiefen Hölle naht!

(No equivalent in Körte.)

Arm wirst du Stark an

mein

Cp. the original M II 184b & 185a.

Kint und welle dich geliuke miden

Das dir Got armuot gebe an libe und ouch an guote

Das solt gedulteklich liden

Und ensolt darumbe han kein truren in dem muote

Du solt im es genade sagen mit herzen und mit gedanken

Niemer solt du daran gewanken

Sich so heizet er dir dort die werden froeide schenken.

Kint armuot das wissest trut geselle Swer die willekliche hat das solt du mir gelouben Den ernert si vor der tiefen helle Si kan den lip die sele von allen siunden rouben Armuot ist gegen Gotes zorne diu hoehste suonerinne Zwischen Got und uns vueget si die minne Die kein engel fuegen kan das nim in dine sinne.

Kint armuot die minnete der erste und der herste
Der ie was und iemer ist an ende
Armuot was sin anevanc zem erste
Do in diu sueze muoter sin gebar in dis ellende
Armuot leit er naht und tag
Mit armuot schiet er hinnen
Mit armuot muost er uns wider gewinnen
Sich die muost du minnen ouch
Wiltu der helle entrinnen.

Two strophes omitted. Liebes kint nu wil ich dir betúten Wavon guot ist also schade da mans niht hat ze maze

Es birt hohvart hohen muot und Gottes vil vergessen Es wil han wib win uod suezú essen Davon maniger muoz hin abe den weg zer helle messen.

Two strophes omitted.
Kint nu wil ich dich noh bas bewisen
Wavon guot ist also schade ze dem himelslichen chore
Sich es machet manigen alten grisen
Das er wirt an guoten werken tumb alsam ein tore.
Kint sist du versmahet von den liuten
Das du guotes niht enhast das las dir niht sin swere
Nim ein weder hie din wol oder dort din we an ende
Doch nim hie din we dar an genende
Umbe dort iemer werndes wol nach dirre welt elende
Kint Got wart nie niht so lieb so merc
Als im ist demuetekeit —
5 lines, one strophe, and 6 lines omitted. The last strophe
may be compared, much to Gleim's detriment:

III.

Got dur sinen tot uns allen sin genade sende.

An den May.

Nach Her Chuonrat den Schenken von Landegge.

Sey willkommen, süsser May! Freudenbringer, sey willkommen! Sey willkommen, süsser May! Deine Kunft wird frommen.

Dass gewaltig durch das Gras Blumen dir entgegen dringen, Dir gefallen wollen: das Werden Dichterchöre singen. So, wenn meine Doris mir Ihre sanfte Weibesgüte Sehen lässt, dann sing' ich ihr Unter Pfyrsich-Blüthe.

Cp. the original in M I 196 a3:
Wis willekomen wunneklicher meie
Wan dú froewest manig herze das ê trurig was
Din kunft wil fromen das vil manig reihe
Wirt gesungen da die bluomen dringent dur das gras
Da bi singent vil der vogellin
Suesse doene gegen der schoene din
Hoh gemuete git ir wibes guete Mir gegen ir.

IV.

Die Männer und die Weiber. Nach dem Her Walther von Klingen.

Die Männer.

Das Weibchen giebt uns alle Freude; Wir lächeln, wir entgehn Dem bösen Geist, und allem Leide, Wenn wir das Weibchen sehn. Das Weibchen giebt uns alle Freude, Wir wollen's nur gestehn!

Die Weiber.

Das Männchen giebt uns alle Freude; Wir lächeln, wir entgehn Dem bösen Geist, und allem Leide, Wenn wir das Männchen sehn; Das Männchen giebt uns alle Freude; Wir wollen's nur gestehn!

Männer und Weiber. Wir geben und wir nehmen Freude; Wir lächeln, wir entgehn Dem bösen Geist, und allem Leide, Wenn wir einander sehn; Wir geben, und wir nehmen Freude; Wir wollen's nur gestehn!

Cp. the original in M I 30 b4:
Elliu froeide kumt von wiben
Diu dien mannen hohgemuete birt
Es kan nieman fro beliben
Dem ir suessiu minne niht enwirt
Wibes minne sanfte tuot Si git froeiderichen muot
Guoter wibe minne ist besser danne guot.

V.

Der Ritter von Johansdorf An seine Gemahlin.

Als er in den heiligen Krieg zu gehn, nach Gewohnheit der damaligen Zeiten, mit dem heiligen Creutz sich bezeichnet hatte.

Mit Gott hab' ich das Creutz genommen,
Zu büssen meine Missethat;
Er helfe mir! und soll ich wieder kommen,
Zu dir, die grossen Kummer hat;
Dann lass er mich mit allen deinen Ehren
Dich finden, einen süssen Tag!
Solt' aber, ach! dein Leben sich verkehren:
Dann geb' er, dass ich bleiben mag!

Cp. the original in M I 173 b 5:

Ich han das krúze an mih dur Got genomen
Und var da hin dur mine missetat
Nu helfe er mir sul ich herwider komen
Ein wib dü grossen kumber von mir hat
Das ich si vinde mit ir eren
So gewert er mich min willen gar
Súl aber si ir leben verkeren
So gebe Got das ich è vervar.

VI.

An die Freunde.

Lieben, und in Liebe leben, O ihr Lieben, das ist schön! Liebe hat uns Gott gegeben Unser Leben auszustehn.

Liebe tröstet uns im Leiden; Liebe giebt uns hohen Muth, Feine Sinnen, rechte Freuden, Süsse Sorgen, frisches Blut.

Frühlings-Sonne sieht man scheinen, In dem Winter, wenn man sieht, Wie zwey Herzen sich vereinen, Und wie Eins das andre zieht.

Sommersonne sieht man scheinen, Wenn man Lieb' an Liebe sieht, Und auf Fluren und in Hainen Singen wir das Liebeslied!

This strophe partly reminds of Reinmar von Zweter's panegyric praise of Minne, M II 142 b1, partly of the many instances where the contrast of the lover's joy with the wintry surroundings is expressed, Cp.

M I 140 a3

M II 209 a 4, 5 (imitated in Buerger's Minnelied)

M II 22 b 2 and others. No doubt, Gleim also had in mind the passages of Uolrich von Liechtenstein, M II 35 and M II 33 b 2.

VII.

Die Trennung.
Nach Her Uolrich von Liechtenstein.
Zündet Hymen seine Kerzen
An den Pfeilen Amors an,

Dann ist May in zweyen Herzen, Einem Weib und einem Mann! Aber, wenn sich Herzen trennen, Dann verlischt der Freuden Licht; Dichter, die's euch singen können, Die sind meine Dichter nicht.

Cp. the original in M II 33 b2:
Swa sich lieb ze liebe zweiet
Hohen muot dü liebe git
In der beider herze meiet
Es mit froeiden ellü zit
Trurens wil du liebe niht
Swa man lieb bi liebe siht.

IV. Language and Style of Gleim's Minnesongs.

Revival of old words, forms and constructions.

In his dissertation Einfluss der Minnesinger auf die Dichter des Goettinger Hains. Leipzig 1899, Franz Muehlenpfordt attributes to the Goettingen poets the great merit of having revived many old words, thus saving many a gem that had been temporarily lost from the treasures of German language. From our Chapter III and from the following it is evident, however, that Gleim anti-dates the linguistic endeavours of the Hainbund, and herein lies not the least part of the importance of Gleim's imitations.

1. Nouns.

Strangely enough the one word which was the great focus of the literary movement of the 12th and 13th Centuries and which was to lend to it its name, Minne, soon lost its splendour and received the collateral signification of sexual love. The result was that in the beginning of the 16th Century the word disappeared from book-language as improper. Walther von der Vogelweide still advocates and praises the word Minne in M I 104 a 3:

Minne ist ein gemeines wort,
und doch ungemeine mit den werken, dest also
Minne ist aller tugende ein hort,
ane minne wirdet niemer herze rehte vro,
Sit ich den gelouben han,
Frowe minne,
Froeit ouch mir die sinne:
mich muet, sol min trost zergan.

And Reinmar von Zweter sings, M II 142 b 1:

Minne ist ein das beste wort,
minne ist ein ubergulde, ob allen tugenden kamer hort,
minne ist ein sloz der sinne,
da mit man guotiu werk besliessen sol.
Sie ist leremeister reiner sitte,
si wont den kiuschen liuten und der stete gerne mitte;
untriuwe und ir gesinde diu schiuhet minne,
dien ist mit uibel wol.
Minne ist als edel, das wizzent sicherlichen,
man kan ir in der werlte niht gelichen.

Gleim uses the word Minne 4 times in the sense of innocent, worldly love in Gl. M p. 32 f., but he does not go as far as to apply it to Gotes minne (Cp. M I 133 a 1, b 1, b 3), which he translates as "Liebe Gottes" (W 32). Gleim again exhibits the word minne in an otherwise entirely Anacreontic-Horatian poem, which expresses the motto: "carpe diem!" Cp. Koerte II p. 95:

Baucis (no date).

"Minne?" fragt' ich; er erklaerte Mir das Wort und sang ein Lied; Alles, was er sprach, bewachrte Mir sein liebendes Gemueth! "Minne," sprach er sanft, "ist Liebe Lieben ist die Seligkeit Hier auf Erden!" — —

Gleim seems to have had in mind the numerous explanations the Minnesingers give of minne. His strophe somewhat reminds of Uolrich von Liechtenstein's M II 33 b 4:

Stete liebe heisset minne liebe minne ist allein.

Similarly Uolrich speaks of minnen paradise (M II 36 b 6) and: Es ist gar ein himmelriche da ein lieb mit liebe umbegat. (M II 44 b 5). Walther says about minne (M I 123 a 5):

Minne ist zweier herzen wunne.

(p. also M I 4 b 4; 116 a 4; 120 a 3-5; 123 a 4; 135 a 1.

Of the many compound nouns formed with minne Gleim only uses one:

Gl. M 55: Den Minnesang singen

Cp. M I 7 a 1: Den minnesang schantieren.

"Die Schwere" for das Schwersein, die Beschwerde is to be found in Gleim's M 89:

Diese Lebens Schwere,

after M II 32 a 6 (Uolrich von Liechtenstein):

Fúr die manigvalden swere

and again in Gleim's W 15: ohne Schwere, Cp. M I 109 a 4: ane swere.

Again the word appears in a letter to Heinse of March 21, 1773:

Meines Kummer's Schwere.

Cp. MI 137 b 5 (Walther): Ich trage in minem herzen eine swere

also M I 137 b 7; 144 a 3; 145 a 6; M II 28 a 2.

Johann Leonhard Frisch (1741) designates the word as, "vulgaer".1)

¹⁾ Johann Leonhard Frisch, Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch etc. Berlin 1741.

"Die Suesse" for das Suess-Sein occurs in the same letter to Heinse:

Wie die kleine Biene Suesse . . . zieht.

Cp. M II 40 a6 (Uolrich von Liechtenstein):

Wie dü bin ir suesse ziehen kan.

Cp. M II 45 a5: Us ir klein vil rotem munde Suesse suesse suesse gat.

"Die Kunft" for die Ankunft is used in *Iris* p. 36.

An den May:

Deine Kunft wird frommen,

Cp. M I 196 a 3 (Chuonrat der Schenke von Landegge):

Din kunft wil fromen, and other instances like

MI 103 b2: Die fürsten habent iuwer kunft erbeitet

MI 128 a4: Dar an wir sine kunft wol spehen

M II 34 b5: Din kunft hoh gemuete git.

"Der Sang" for Gesang is imitated by Gleim in M 61:

Ihren Sang und ihr Geschrey.

Here Gleim even surpasses the original M I 7 a 8: Ir gesanc und ir geschreien, by preferring the shorter form, which he read in

MI 137 a 4: Iuwer minneklicher sang, and in numerous other instances (MI 103 b 5).

That Gleim's contemporaries regarded this form as obsolete appears from the criticism in number 2 p. 163 of the *Deutscher Merkur* of 1773:

"Sang' — denn so fängt man an anstatt Gesang zu schreiben." Frisch says: "Sang ist veraltet, und von Gesang ausgedrenget worden."

"Das Hochgemüthe" = edle, stolze Gesinnung occurs in W 24:

Tragt euer Hochgemüthe Nur gegen einen Feind. Walther says in the respective passage, M I 132 b 5: gegen vienden tragent hohgemuete Cp. M I 130 b1: Din kúscher lip git berndes hohgemuete.

The word is often found in the standing phrase: menlich ellen und hohgemuete (Cp. M II 34 b 5).

In conformity with the MHG. Gleim exhibits several forms of the old declension. So he puts "Landen" for Laendern twice:

Gl. M 26: In meinen Landen

Cp. M I 1 a 2: dü lant

Gl. M 97: in deutschen Landen

M I 103 b3: von tiutschen landen.

He is however not consistent and in the Gedichte nach Walther von der Vogelweide we only find the form "Laendern":

Gl. W 15: Alle Laender dienten mir

M I 109 a 4: Wie mir dienten elliu lant.

Gl. W 21: In vielen Laendern, viel gesehen hab' ich.

M I 119 b4: Ich han lande vil gesehen.

The intention of employing old forms appears quite plainly in the letter to Heinse of March 21, 1773, where M II 40 a 7:

und ir wibheit mit vil hohen tugenden schoenet is rendered: Welche, wenn sie Weibe schönet.

In the same letter a dative form: bei Weiben, occurs, Cp. M II 40 a 8: von wiben.

The rhyme probably induced Gleim to choose the form W 19: Mit sauersehenden Gesichten (to rhyme with "richten").

The word Frau = Herrin, Gebieterin, Geliebte is declined weak in the singular in

Gl. M 35: Meiner lieben Frauen.

MI4 b4: Rument den weg der minen lieben frowen. (Cp. Gl. M 52, Gl. W 19. 24).

In the good language of the 18th Century the genitive and dative forms are Frau, Cp. Gellert. The fact that Grimm does not find any example for the old form between Luther and Goethe seems to indicate that the old form has been revived through the Minnesong movement.

Riethmüller, Gleim.

2. Adjectives.

Just as Gleim admits the noun minne, so he has the adjective "minniglich" in his vocabulary:

Gl. M 37: die minnigliche

MI 4 a 2: dur die vil minneklichen

Gl. M 71: Was minniglich geschaffen ist

MI3 b5: Swas minneklich geschaffen ist.

In analogy to old forms Gleim uses the lengthened form of unsanft: "unsaenftiglich", Cp. Gl. M 14:

Die Liebliche, die ich So gar unsaenftiglich Entbehre, die gruess ich.

Cp. M I 1 a 1: (Keiser Heinrich)

Der ich so gar unsenfteclich enbir.

"Gethan" in the old sense of gestaltet occurs in Gl. W 20 in the compound form "wohlgethan":

> Der deutsche Mann ist wohlgezogen Und wohlgethan das deutsche Weib,

after MI 119 b3: Als engel sint diu wib getan.

Cp. also M I 47 a 2: (Kristan von Hamle)

Swenne ich sihe die frowen min Wunneclichen vor mir stan gar gelich dem liehten schine von dem sunnen wolgetan.

Lange (in *Sammlung II* p. 578) translates this passage as follows (March 5, 1757):

Seh ich nun meine Frau so an Voll reicher Wonne vor mir stehn Ganz gleich dem heitern Scheine Von der Sonne wohlgetan.

and remarks in a foot note: "Wohlgethan, ist ein altes Wort, das zum Lob der Sache gereichet, wie lobesan auf die Rede oder den Gesang von der Sache geht." Gleim may have had his attention drawn to this word by Lange's annotation, but he may also have been familiar with it from reading Walther:

Cp. M I 125 a3: also sprach ich zeiner wol getaner maget and: Ir sit so wol getan.

"Durchlauchtig", which otherwise is only used in connection with high titles, (so in Frisch: "durchleuchtig") is applied by Gleim in its original meaning of strahlend, hellglänzend, durchscheinend, Cp. Herm. v. Sachsenheim, *Moerin* 43:

durchleuchtig als der Morgenstern."

Gl. M 29: Ihr durchlauchtig rother Mund

MI4 a6: Ir durluhtig roter munt.

Gottfried von Nifen: Owe suesser mund durluhtig rot (Adelung).

This word occurs in the sense of Durchsichtig in Brockes II, 25; 40; 49 (durchleuchtig) and in Voss V 236 (durchlauchtig), where it is doubtlessly due to the influence of the Minnesong. (Grimm). "Hehr". In explaining the third line of W 13:

Deutschen Frauen will ich singen, Reichen Lohn dafuer zu dingen, Sind sie mir zu hehr!

Gleim gives a marginal note: "Zu heilig", which proves that the word was not familiar to his readers. Grimm says about Hehr in the sense of Vornehm: "Die moderne Schriftsprache ist zu dem Gebrauche von 'hehr' in diesem Sinne erst seit dem Wiederbekanntwerden der MHD. Dichtungen gelangt."

Cp. Adelung:1) "Im Hochdeutschen völlig veraltet."
"Mild" for the Minnesinger has the material meaning of freigebig. "Milte" is the standing quality of a good prince or master, whose duty it is to give liberally to his menials what they need for a comfortable life. With regard to this original meaning Gleim preserves the word:

¹⁾ Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart etc. von Johann Christoph Adelung. Mit D. W. Soltau's Beyträgen revidirt von Franz Xaver Schönberger. Wien 1811.

Gl. M 105: Der milde Fuerst von Oesterreich

M I 128 a 2: Des fiursten milte us Oesterriche.

Gl. W 29: Mach's wie der milde Saladin

M I 127 b4: Denke an den milten Salatin.

For this meaning, Frisch cites only one instance, showing that the word was already obsolete: T. III Script. Brunsv. p. 39: "Ludewik der milde".

This typical meaning is partly lost in

Gl. M 75: Eines milden Mannes Angesicht, after

M II 225 b3: Der lieben suezen milten herren angesicht.

Gl. M 105: Mit seiner milden Hand

M I 128 a2: Sin vil milte richú hant.

This latter meaning also occurs in Luther, Gessner and Hagedorn. (Cp. Adelung).

"Werth". Gleim takes werth from the Minnesingers in the sense of vornehm, edel, which neither Adelung nor Frisch know.

Gl. M 99: Koennt aber ich, was jeder Gutes kann, Ich theilt' es mit dem werthen Mann (referring to the Margrave Heinrich von Misen).

M I 111 b2: Koende ich swas ieman guotes kan das teilte ich mit dem werden man.

Cp. also M I 91 a 5: scheide ich von dinem werden libe.

Gudrun: 912, 2: den werden tot nemen (== ehrenvollen)

Tristan (Hagen) 1596. 1991: Die werden tavelrunder. The very frequent augmentative form of the adjective, combined with "vil", is imitated by Gleim in one instance:

Gl. M 52: Die argen Schalke tragen

Viel grossen Hass zu mir.

Cp. M I 6 b2: der vil lieben frowen min

MI 130 b1: vil suesse frowe

M II 44 b2: dú vil suesse reine

MI8 b5: vil cleine MI11 b3: vil here M I 15 b4: vil maniger abent

M II 40 a 7: mit vil hohen tugenden

M II 44 a 4: der vil reinenklich gemuoten

M II 44 a7: der vil minneklichen

MI4a5: vil trurig.

3. Prepositions.

With strange literalness Gleim preserves the MHG. preposition durh = um willen.

Gl. W 18: Ich war, durch Wunder ausgefahren.

M I 112 a 2: ich was durch wunder us gevarn

(= um Neugierde willen, wundershalber)

Gl. W 18: Durch ihren Gram

Gl. M 15: Und bringe Gram und Leid

Durch ihre Lieb in's Grab!

M I 1 a 2: und bringe den wehsel dur ir liebe ze grabe.

Gl. M. 38: Durch Deine grosse Guete.

M I 4 a 4: Durh dine guete.

4. Interjections.

Frequently the Minnesingers express their joy over the return of spring or their success in love with a merry outcry. Gleim who had a foible for fitting and unfitting interjections, twice imitates the MHG: ahi, (ahey, ahy)

M I 5 b 4: mit also froeiden richer tat ahey wer wolte ich danne sin.

Gl. M 46: Ahi, wer will ich kuenftig seyn.

MI 132 a4: ahi wie kristenliche nu der babest lachet.

Gl. W 31: Ahi! wie doch so christlich da der Vater Pabst itzt lacht!

Almost literal is the imitation of

M I 4 a 4: Hey Herre Got

in Gl. M 38: Hey o! Herre Gott.

The refrain of MI7a5:

Dú eine sang fúr dú ander sang na Harba lori fa Harba lori fa Harba lori fa. looses its ring in Gleim's M 59:

> Die eine sang vor, die andre sang nach: La, lallalá, lallalá, lá!

In Gl. W 17 Walther's outcry of joy:

Vor dem walde in einem tal tandaradei schone sanc dú nachtegal.

is rendered, for the rhyme's sake, with:

Vor dem Walde, Dal de Dall, Schoen sang uns die Nachtigall.

Of other interjections Gleim employs a profusion, thus

Ey! in Gl. M 79. 105 and Gl. W 41.

Oweh! Gl. M 72. 97 and Gl. W 18. 19.

Ha! Gl. M 23. 36. 44. 85. 112. 114.

Ah! Gl. M 36.

Ach! Gl. M 89, 103.

O! Gl. M 44. 61. 89.

5. Verbs.

Of the verbs borrowed by Gleim from the Minnesingers, we have to mention first of all "minnen". In spite of its frequent occurrence in Bodmer's Sammlung, we find it only once in Gl. M 81: Was ich an dir minne.

"Neigen" with the dative of object, expressing veneration toward persons or things, is typically MHG; it also occurs in Hans Sachs, and once in Goethe: *Proserpina* 1778:

Wir neigen Dir,

but corrected in Werke 14.50: Wir neigen uns Dir (Grimm).

Gl. M 35: Dem Lande muss ich neigen

MI4b4: dem lande muos ich nigen.

Gl. M 98: Als dass ich tief ihm neige.

M I 111 a6: wan das ich tiefe ime nige.

Gl. W 18: O weh, dass man dem Einen neigen muss!

M I 112 a 2: owe das man dem einen an ir drier stat nu nigen muos.

On the other hand the reflexive verb "sich neigen" with a preposition is found in

Gl. M 55: Vor ihrer Wohnung tief mich neigen

Das muss ich nun.

M I 7 a 1: Swa si wonet dar muos ich iemer nigen, also Gl. W 47: Ihr Maedchen muestet wohl zu einem Gruss euch neigen!

In W 50: Spricht er, und neigt, (the pope) und wir, verehren seinen Gruss,

neigen has the meaning of zunicken, gruessen.
"Lesen" = sammeln, used of roses, is taken from the MHG.
The NHG. only has the two standing phrases: Ähren lesen, and Wein lesen (Cp. Frisch).

M I 137 b2: mueste ich noch geleben das ich die rosen mit der minneklichen solde lesen,

in Gl. W 54: Wenn ichs noch erlebe, dass ich Rosen Mit der schoenen Anna Winli lesen gehe.

Cp. also Walther MI113b3: So lise ich bluomen do rife nu lit. "Versinnen" = besinnen, nachdenken (which is not given in Heyne's dictionary), is exhibited in Gl. W 42: Und versinnen sich

Cp. M I 137 a2: si verierren mich

und versinnent sich.

M I 117 b5: Frowe du versinne dich ob ich dir zihte mere si.

M I 121 a 4: Unz er schone sich versan (sich wohl überlegte) und muos sich versinnen.

M II 140 b4: swer sich versinne

M I 113 a4: Wie Alexander sich versan.

M I 123 a4: swer sich rehte nu versinne.

Frisch says about the word: "versinnen ist veraltet, im Niedersächsischen hat man es ehemals sehr gebraucht. Anstatt dieses versinnen hat man besinnen bisher gebraucht, dass man in dem Lied: Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott; da sonst in einem Vers stunde: Wenn mein Verstand sich nicht versinnt, anjezt singt: Wann mein Verstand sich nicht besinnt."

"Fahren" in the sense of the Latin proficisci, German abreisen, to depart, set out, is an intentional archaism in Gl. M 95:

Eh' ich von dem Lande fuehre.

Cp. M I 172 a3: e danne ich von lande var. M I 111 b4: Got gebe úch frowe guote naht

ich wil ze herberge varn.

M I 115 b1: ich wil nu teilen ê ich var. Similarly we read in Gl. W 18: ich war, durch Wunder, ausgefahren.

Cp. M I 112 a 2: ich was durch wunder us gevarn. "Schoenen" = schoen machen, unless it be technical term, is unusual as primitive verb (in NHG. language beschoenen or intens. beschoenigen or verschoenern).

Muchlenpfordt states that the Goettingers and Klopstock had a great liking for simple verbal forms. Gleim's letter to Heinse (March 21, 1773) contains the line

Wenn sie (die Tugend) Weibe schoenet.

Cp. M II 40 a 7: und ir wibheit mit vil hohen tugenden schoenet.

"Alten" = altern, does not, since Gryphius, occur in this form until Voss, who was influenced by the Minnesingers. Frisch mentions alten among the obsolete words, citing Notker and Vet. Vocab. 1482. Gleim exhibits the verb in

Gl. M 56: Ich wuerde, glaub' ich, nimmer alten

Cp. M I 6 b5: so mueze ich niht alden.

M I 112 b4: swer sich so behaltet

wunnekliche er altet.

Gleim's predilection for primitive verbs does not quite match that of the Goettingers. Instead, he displays a series of compound verbs with obsolete prefixes.

"Geleben", = erleben, is found

in Gl. M 17: ich wohl geleben mag.

M I 1 a 4: das ich moehte geleben manigen lieben tag. M I 137 b 2: mueste ich noch geleben.

Adelung says about this verb: "Ist das Zeitwort leben mit der müssigen Alemannischen Verlängerung ge. Es hat sich aus dem Oberdeutschen in einige Hochdeutsche Kanzelleyen eingeschlichen." For the meaning = erleben he can only cite Heinrich von Morunge's: Ich gelebte noch den lieben abent gerne.

Frisch says: "geleben ist nicht mehr gebräuchlich, einige sagen noch, ich gelebe der guten Hoffnung."

"Erkosen", (reflexive = sich vertraulich besprechen, unterhalten) is, according to Grimm, hardly ever used in MHG. Herder probably ran accross the word while studying the MHG. language.

Frisch finds erkosen only in an old document, T. II *Script*. *Saxon*. col. 2042: "Sich mit einem wohl erkosen, (ein langes Gespräch mit einem haben, lang mit einem schwätzen)."

Gl. W 22: Dann will ich mich so mit ihr erkosen

M I 137 b2: so wold ich mich so mit ir erkosen.

"Verschallen" = übertönen, to drown the sound of, known in this meaning to Adelung, we find in

Gl. W 44: Euer lieblicher Gesang

Der verschallt ja ganz den meinen.

MI 137 a4: iuwer minneklicher sang der verschallet gar den minen.

"Entwenken" = untreu werden, entweichen is taken directly from the MHG. Buerger has the form entwanken in 26 b, but with a different meaning:

> Nun kehre wieder, nun entwanke Dem Wonnebett, du hast genug.

Gleim consciously imitates MI7 b1: und enwil ir niht entwenken

in Gl. M 62: Ihr entwenken will ich nicht.

Still two obsolete verbal forms are to be mentioned. Gleim

evidently mistook the form gan in MI 111 a 6: der mir so hoher eren gan, for a preterite of gunnen. It really is the old MHG. indicative present form, formed like a strong preterite. In the beginning of the 17th Century the weak forms dominate: gonnet, gunnet, gunnet.

Gleim writes, Gl. M 99: Der mir so hoher Ehren gann.

The correct MHG. preterite is gunde.

The past participle braht was still in use in the 16th Century. Gleim shows the MHG. form in Gl. W 31: Hab' unter eine Crone dort zwey Allemannen bracht.

Cp. MI 132 a4: ich han zwene allaman under eine krone braht.

6. Archaic constructions.

Along with old words and forms, Gleim carried over some old constructions, which did not belong to the linguistic property of his time. Very frequently the Minnesingers resorted to stock phrases, in which the objective genitive is put before the adjective or the separative word, as in

frunde bar (M I 102 a 2) wiser sinne bar alles valsches bar sorgen bar guotes bar

valscher rede vri alles arges vri spotes vri wandels vri (MII 43 b6) valscher volge vri (M II 127 a 3)

des guotes und der eren rich

sines mundes niht ze snel (M II 127 a 3)

lobes noch nie so riche

guoter lere willig und fro (M II 127 a 3)

reines muotes rich (MII142b3) froeiden riche (MI 116 b2) lieber dinge vil (MI 120 b6) froeiden lere (M II 192 a4)

weiz ich des ein teil (Walther, Pfeiffer 32, 2) het ich niht miner froeiden teil (M I 110 a 3).

Corresponding with these expressions Gleim has

- Gl. M 81: (Du) bist des argen falschen frey.
 M I 197 a 4: du bist valsches vri
- Gl. M 82: (Du hast) Alles Liebes einen Theil M I 197 a 4: du hast alles liebes teil
- Gl. M 31: der Ehren viel M I 5 a 2: eren vil
- Gl. M 112: Fremder, wilder Greifen zweene M II 207 a 2: der wilden grifen zwene.
- Gl. W 21: Der Schoenen hab' ich viel gesehn.
 M I 119 b4: ich han lande vil gesehen.
- Gleim's letter to Heinse, March 21, 1773: Hohen Muthes eine Crone.

Cp. M II 40 a 7: si hat hohes muotes krone. M I 115 a 2: wir wellen das dú stetekeit

in guoten wiben gar ein krone si.

7. Rhetorical means of style.

a) Personification.

On p. 73 we have shown an instance where Gleim has misunderstood his model and has taken the personification of an inanimate object, so common with the Minnesingers, for a real person. It would however be wrong to think that Gleim had disregarded entirely the significance of personification as a staple rhetorical ornament. Though he does not implicitely follow his examples in every case, Gleim has, in many instances either carried out the animation of lifeless objects only hinted at in the original, or has independently introduced this rhetorical figure.

Cp. M I 127 b 2:

si lachent beide ein ander an das edelgesteine wider den iungen suessen man

with Gl. W 27: Wie freundlich lachen Edelstein Und Gold, und Perl' einander an! Sie bilden wohl was rechts sich ein Auf ihren suessen jungen Mann! Gleim furthermore adresses the crown:

Du, Crone, dass du doch so sehr Der Fuersten Augenweide bist! Begaffen mag dich jeder.

In W 18 Gleim follows out the personification of age (Alter), intellect (Verstand) and nobility (Adel) much farther than Walther von der Vogelweide in M I 112 a 2. A collateral comparison will illustrate the matter:

Walther von der Vogelweide:

ich vant die stuele leider lere stan

da wisheit adel und alter gewaltig sassen ê

Hilf frowe maget hilf meg-

de barn

den drin noch wider in den ring

la si niht lange ir sedeles irre gan

ir kumber manigvalt der tuot mir von herzen we

Des hinket reht und truret zuht und siechet schame.

Gleim: (Ich fand)

Dass alle Stuehle ledig waren

Auf welchen Alter, und Verstand

Und Adel, sonst beysammen sassen,

In einem schwesterlichen Ringe, fand Auf einer unsrer Landes-Strassen Die drey Geschwister irrend nun Und wollten sich, verkuemmert, Leides thun. O weh,

Dass Recht und Zucht und Schaam, Sonst ihre lieblichen Gespielen, Krank sind, durch ihren Gram!

Cp. also Gl. W 44: An die kleinen Singe-Voegel and M I 137 a 4.

Gleim had a liking for this rhetorical form and applied it without being directly influenced by his model, Cp. Gl. M 22 f.:

Itzt, da ich daran gedenke, Itzt entstehet ein Gezaenke Zwischen Willen und Verstand: Wille spricht von freyem Sollen Wie Verstand von freyem Wollen Allerhand. Das Gezaenke beyzulegen, Droht ein dritter Mann mit Schlaegen; Ha! Gewissen, dritter Mann, Schlag mich nie mit deinem Stabe, Suess ist, dass du sagst, ich habe Recht gethan.

Of direct imitations we mention:

- Gl. M 24 = M I 2 b 5
- Gl. M 67-72 = M I 3b & 4 a 1.
- Gl. M 30 & 34 = MI 4 b 3
- Gl. M 78 = M II 105 a 1.
- Gl. M 39 = M I 5 a 3
- Gl. M 83 84 = M II 136 b 3
- Gl. M 44-46 = M I 5 b 4-6 Gl. M 90 = M II 147 b 4.
- Gl. M 109 = M II 29 b 7.

Much more than his model M I 6 b 2 (Herzoge von Anhalt): ich wil den winter empfahen mit gesange, Gleim goes into details in his personification of winter:

Gl. M. 51: Der Winter kommt, behangen Um seine blassen Wangen Mit Flocken und mit Eiss; Er kommt und faerbt die Felder, Die Wiesen und die Waelder, Und alles, alles weiss.

This strophe reminds us of M II 241 b4 (Der Chanzler):

We dir leider winter kalt heide und anger und den walt hastu gar beroubet maniger wunne Swere tage und scharpfen luft Machent is sne rifen tuft.

or M II 242 a5: We dir winter...

wer hat uns den walt beroubet der so schone stuont geloubet Rife und ouch darzuo der sne.

Cp. also M II 242 b3; M II 243 a 4 & 5 and M II 243 a 1: Winter kalt din gewalt

Duot mit rifen ungestalt anger ouwen heide breit...
Glanze varwe sint verschwunden...
Gleim even calls the winter "den Schnee-Erfinder" in Gl. M 52.

b) Anaphora.

Anaphora too, so favorite with the Minnesingers especially in connection with the word "minne" (Cp. M II 29 b 9; 30 a 2 & 3; 128 b 1; 126 a 1 & 3; 129 a 1; 134 a 2; 142 b 1; 147 a 2; 149 b 2; 153 b 4; 154 a 1 & 3), is frequently imitated by Gleim, partly directly, partly indirectly. We only quote examples of free imitation:

Gl. W 1 the line: "Deutschen Frauen will ich singen" is repeated.

Gl. W 26: "Auf diesem Klee hat sie gesessen, Und" 3 times.

Gl. M 24: "Wohlauf" 4 times.

Gl. M 31: Sanfter Weibesguete voll —
Bist du steter Sinne.
Bist des argen falschen frey,
Bist gelinder Sprueche,
Bist gesellig, bist getreu,
Bist fuer Tisch und Kueche.
Bist Gesanges Freundinn, bist
Schoen und auserwachlet.

Cp. M I 197 a 4:

du bist aller selden vol du bist schoene und minneklich gestalt du bist falsches vri du bist steter sinne du bist senfter sprüche... du bist kúsche zúhtig gar du bist wandels bar.

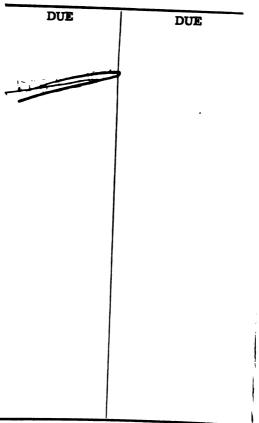
Gl. M 89: "Menschen" 5 times.

Gl. M 94: "Liebe" 3 times.

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